

## Love & Rage Back Issues

June/July 1997: ACT UP 10th Anniv., Building Multiracial Organization, Revolution in Congo, Puerto Rican Cultural Center in Chicago, CUNY Student Movement, Indigenous Autonomy, Young Lords...

Mar/Apr 1997: International Women's Day, Bo Brown Interview (part 2 of 2), Luisa Capetillo, Women in Zapatista Territory, Women and Welfare, Judi Bari, Neoliberalism and World Revolution, UDC Student Movement...

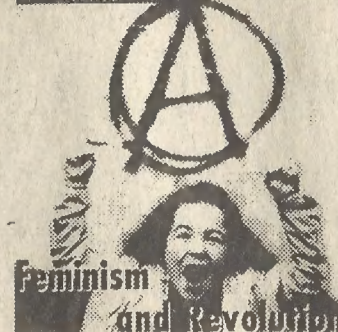
Jan/Feb 1997: Anti-Prison Movement, Bo Brown Interview (part 1 of 2), CIA Deals Crack, 1996 Elections, Police Brutality, Strikes in Toronto & Quebec, Spirit of Magon in Mexico, Mario Savio, Robert Williams...

Oct/Nov 1996: Workfare, Zapatista Encuentro, Tupac Shakur, Active Resistance Counterconvention, EPR, Summer Anti-Convention Activism, Abortion, Kurds...

Aug/Sept 1996: Attica commemora-



**LOVE AND RAGE** Vol. 8, No. 4, August/September 1997 \$1  
Special Section: **Chiapas!** (pages 11-27)



tion, Revolution-ary Anarchist Tradition, SUTAR Interview, review of *How the Irish Became White*, Riot in Quebec City...

Aug 1996: Special Edition Summer Broadsheet, with Convention protests, reproductive freedom, Lessons of Chicago 1969/1996, 2-color "voting victim" poster...

Apr/May 1996: Palestine, Control Units in MD, Nigeria, Ron Tabor's Anarchist Critique of Marxism (part 4)...

Nov/Dec 1995: Million Man March, Immigrant Bashing, Chinese Anarchism, interviews with Chumbawamba & with EZLN's Marcos, 2-color EZLN poster...

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# LOVE & RAGE

## REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHIST NEWSPAPER



**In This Issue** ☆ Welfare Reform ☆ Geronimo ji jaga Pratt ☆ Fascist Networks & the Oklahoma City Bombing ☆ Detroit Newspaper Strike ☆ Living Wage ☆ Biotechnology ☆ Zapatistas ☆ Forest Defense ☆ Haiti ☆ CUNY ☆ and more!

**VOLUME 8, NUMBER 4**

**AUGUST / SEPT 1997**

**\$1**



# Fight Against Welfare Cuts Hits the UN

BY LAURA SCHERE AND SUZY SUBWAYS

Over 150 people participated in the March for Our Lives, a 10-day journey from the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia to the United Nations in New York City to protest welfare reform and the human rights abuses that it causes. The march culminated at the UN on July 1, where marchers held a mock tribunal to present documentation of some of the deaths and misery caused by recent federal and state welfare reform laws.

The march was organized by the Kensington Welfare Rights Union (KWRU), an organization of poor and homeless women, men and children of all races based in Kensington, one of Philadelphia's poorest neighborhoods. KWRU is unlike many welfare rights groups because of its focus on direct action. It is not a social service agency or an advocacy group, and it is not tied to the government through funding. KWRU is part of the National Welfare Rights Union; its director, Cheri Honkala, is the national group's co-chair. It is also affiliated with the Labor Party and with the National Union of Hospital and Healthcare Workers. KWRU organizes to meet the



Members of the Kensington Welfare Rights Union presented this coffin filled with testimony about the human rights abuses caused by welfare reform to the United Nations.

housing, food, clothing and utilities needs of its members—by any means necessary.

For KWRU's six-year history, these

means have included setting up tent cities in North Philadelphia to meet immediate housing needs and educate families turned

away by the shelter system; taking over an abandoned Catholic church in the dead of winter to house 40 homeless families; distributing free food; marching 140 miles to the state capitol to protest state welfare cuts; setting up a Poor People's Embassy in Harrisburg, PA to represent the legislative needs of the poor; and initiating a nationwide documentation of human rights abuses caused by welfare reform to present to the United Nations.

KWRU stands at the center of a growing movement for economic justice in Philadelphia. Its unique structure of affiliated groups makes good use of allies while it keeps poor people in the leadership of the struggle. Teachers, lawyers, roofers, nurses, clergy, students and community organizers from all walks of life in Philadelphia work with the KWRU through a group called the Underground Railroad. Its model taken from a part of the 19th-century movement to abolish slavery, the Underground Railroad sits firmly outside the social service way of relating to poor people. They don't want to work for poor and homeless people, but to

(Continued to page 19)

# Haitians Resist Neoliberalism

BY JESSICA

A strike closed public schools in Port-au-Prince, the capital city of Haiti, in May when teachers who had not been paid in months refused to go back to work. Two weeks into the strike students began demonstrating in support of their teachers, demanding that the government resolve the issue so that they would not miss their upcoming Baccalaureate exams.

In an incident that broadened the strike, public school students gathered in a private school yard to protest that private schools were still open and tried to get private school students to join them. Violence erupted when police arrived and tried to evict students from the yard. Students responded by throwing rocks at police cars and the police threw rocks back, shot into the air and launched tear gas into the yard where the students were gathered.

People in the surrounding neighborhood joined in support of the students, chanting "Open our schools now!" and "Pay the professors!" Students spent two days battling the police in the streets. Their open rebellion was followed by a general strike which closed factories and shops in Port-au-Prince on May 19.

## WHAT'S HAPPENING IN HAITI?

When the US government intervened in 1994 to reinstate the popularly elected President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, they promised that democracy, justice and prosperity would be restored in the Western Hemisphere's poorest country. Yet today,

UN troops continue to occupy the country, police brutality runs rampant, Aristide's party has split into two main factions, and the people continually rise up in rebellion against the austerity measures being pushed on them by the US, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). May's general strike is not the first the country has experienced in the past year. On January 16, there was a nation-wide general strike to protest the government's attempts to implement the neoliberal austerity policies of the IMF.

## THE ROOTS OF THE CRISIS

The US's involvement with Haiti did not begin with the restoration of Aristide as president of his country. After a slave insurrection won Haiti its independence from France in 1804, the US spearheaded an embargo against Haiti to stop the spread of rebellion and to keep Haiti economically dependent. In 1915, internal unrest in Haiti threatened local elites and the US invaded, seized the national treasury and occupied the country for 19 years. During this time, the United States consolidated its economic domination of Haiti. US exports to Haiti of \$3.8 million in 1915 increased to \$15 million by the end of World War I.

When the US withdrew militarily in 1934 it maintained control of the national bank and, while Haitian officers commanded the armed forces, they remained faithful to US interests and defended US-backed dictators. This included the infamous Francois "Papa Doc" Duvalier who ruled Haiti from 1957

until his death in 1971, when his son, "Baby Doc" Duvalier replaced him. During this time, Haiti was used as a source of cheap labor by the US companies that employed Haitians at slave wages in factories making baseballs, electronic components and clothes. Simultaneously, Haiti became increasingly indebted to the US as it was forced to take out loans to build infrastructure like roads, water systems and power plants to serve US-owned industries. During this time private armies known as the Ton Ton Macoutes were set up for the purpose of terrorizing local populations into submission.

The Duvalier dictatorship ended in 1986

when "Baby Doc" was forced to flee the country after a popular uprising swept across Haiti. Between 1986 and 1991 six governments rose and fell, each one backed by the United States. Faced with increasing anti-US sentiment among the people of Haiti and constant resistance and rebellion, the US sought to maintain economic dominance of Haiti by supporting democratic elections to pacify Haitians, while throwing their support behind candidates they knew would continue the policies that facilitated US economic domination.

The situation changed in 1990 when

(Continued to page 20)



Students clash with police in Port-au-Prince after occupying a school

# Geronimo ji jaga Pratt Free at Last!

BY GINA AND DOUG

On June 10, 1997, Geronimo ji jaga Pratt was released from prison after a quarter century of imprisonment for a crime that he did not commit. As Pratt walked out of a jail in Santa Ana, California, he was warmly received by former Panthers, family members, and supporters. One of the people in the excited crowd chanted "Free at last! Free at last! Thank God Almighty, he's free at last!" The 49-year-old Pratt is eager to spend time with his wife Ashaki, daughter Shona and son Hiroji, all of whom greeted him upon his release. He also looks forward to visiting with his 94-year-old mother.

Pratt was released on \$25,000 bail when Orange County Superior Court Judge Everett W. Dickey ruled that Pratt's case was unfair due to the prosecution's deliberate withholding of crucial information. Dickey did not rule that Pratt was innocent but that he had been denied a fair trial. It was a shock to both Pratt and his attorneys (Johnnie L. Cochran Jr., who has represented Pratt since his original trial, and Stuart Hanlon, who has been representing Pratt for 24 years on a volunteer basis) that he would find justice in conservative Orange County by a judge who was appointed by Ronald Reagan.

Pratt made a point when he was released that he would keep up an investigation of the murder of Caroline Olsen, whom he supposedly killed. Olsen was

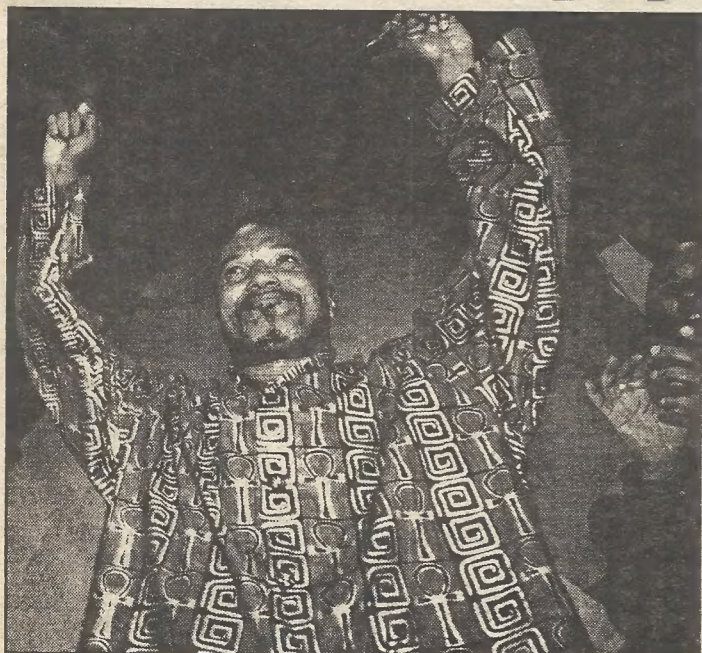
an anti-war protester. "She was like a comrade of ours," he said. "No one has championed her cause. She was just forgotten." He and his defense are the only ones committed to finding her killer.

## THE CASE

From the beginning of Pratt's trial the prosecution's case was weak. The chief witness for the prosecution, Julius Butler, testified that Pratt had confessed to him that he had murdered Caroline Olsen, a Los Angeles area school teacher, in a 1968 robbery that netted \$18. Butler, a convicted felon, had been recruited by the FBI to infiltrate the Black Panther Party. The fact that Butler was an informant to the FBI and local police was concealed from the defense and the jury during Pratt's trial.

The only witness to the actual murder was Caroline Olsen's husband, Kenneth, who was wounded at the scene of the crime. He identified Pratt two years after the incident and had previously identified some one else as the killer. Dickey's response to this testimony was: "The possible unreliability of such cross-racial identifications of strangers based on a brief period of observation under stressful conditions has become so

(Continued to page 20)



Geronimo Pratt celebrates release after 27 years in prison for crime he didn't commit.



## What is Love & Rage?

*Love and Rage* is the English-language newspaper of the Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation, an organization made up of groups and individuals in Canada, Mexico and the US who share a set of common politics and who work on political projects together. *Love and Rage* is produced by a Production Group in New York City. The Production Group is made up of volunteers and one full-time staff person. *Love and Rage* is one of the many projects of the Federation, which also produces the Spanish-language *Amor y Rabia* in Mexico City, and supports and initiates various actions and campaigns.

Major decisions and overall policies of the Federation are set by federation conferences, or between conferences by the Federation Council.

The Federation is not a closed circle of friends. You can join Love and Rage and participate fully in the decision-making process. If you are in general agreement with the stated politics of the Federation and are interested in getting involved, contact the Federation Office or your local contact. Even if you do not wish to be a member of the Federation you can participate in Love and Rage projects. Please contact us.

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### Boring Disclaimer

The articles we print do not necessarily represent the opinions of the Federation or of any member of the Federation, unless specifically marked. Sometimes we print articles we don't agree with, because we believe that they are interesting, provocative, or raise important issues for the revolutionary movement. Some articles represent one view among many views held by Love & Rage members on a topic.

### Submit to *Love & Rage*

We encourage you to submit material for publication. Shorter articles are more likely to be printed. 1,750 words, a full newspaper page, is a long article. We will not accept submissions over 3,400 words in length. Submissions will be edited. Please include a phone number and address or email address so we can consult you on editing. Articles not printed may be sent to our internal bulletin unless otherwise noted. All letters will be considered for publication unless there is a request that they not be published. Letters will not be edited.

### About Our Politics...

The Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation is in the process of developing a statement of our common politics (yeah, it's a long process). The following introduction to our old Political Statement gives an idea of where we are coming from:

*Love and Rage* is a bi-monthly anarchist newspaper intended to foster revolutionary anti-authoritarian activism in North America and build a more effective and better-organized anarchist movement. We will provide coverage of social struggles, world events, anarchist actions, and cultures of resistance. We will support the struggles of oppressed peoples around the world for control over their own lives. Anarchy offers the broadest possible critique of domination, making possible a framework for unity in all struggles for liberation. We seek to understand the systems we live under for ourselves and reject any pre-packaged ideology. Anarchism is a living body of theory and practice connected directly to the lived experiences of oppressed people fighting for their own liberation. We anticipate the radical and on-going revision of our ideas as a necessary part of any revolutionary process.



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# Letters to Love and Rage

## CONFERENCE ARTICLE MISLEADING

Dear Comrades,

*Love and Rage* continues to be an excellent source of anti-authoritarian action and analysis. I'm writing though to disagree strongly with some of the account of the Federation's last conference in Lansing (reported in *Love & Rage*, Vol. 8, No. 3, June / July 1997). The article's description of a debate at the conference over a proposal to reaffirm Love and Rage's revolutionary anarchist politics was one-sided and misleading.

The article framed the discussion as "an ongoing debate in L&R around the adequacy of the anarchist tradition to the task of answering vital questions facing revolutionaries." It said that some members "claim to have learned from Marxism without adopting a stages theory of history or an elitist outlook," that many spoke out against the reaffirming anarchism proposal as a "McCarthyite loyalty oath and condemned it as fanning the unhealthy flames of suspicion in the organization" but that "nevertheless the debate did allow some to dispose of rumors of heresy and to condemn the idea that looking beyond an anarchist tradition to hard questions is heretical."

I have an entirely different take on the nature of the debate in Lansing and within the Federation generally. In my opinion the debate is not about whether to look beyond the anarchist tradition in building our theory and practice, but whether to scrap an anarchist outlook or framework for approaching "vital questions." To me the strength of anarchism is its uncompromising hostility to all oppression, hierarchy, and elites including the state (something totally missing from Marxism). To give up this outlook or to try and merge it with different variants of Marxism (social democracy or Leninism) would be to erase all that is unique and important about Love and Rage's mission. This is not to say that we

can not learn from other traditions and tendencies, we must, only without going over to an authoritarian viewpoint. Despite what the article says it is clear to me, from discussions and documents, that a minority of comrades are moving away from that anarchist outlook and towards "a stages theory of history and an elitist outlook."

This is exhibited clearly in another section of the same article describing the discussion of our political statement. "What is our relationship as a revolutionary organization to the movement / people at large? Some wording suggested we participate as equals, period. But many objected that this position abdicated responsibility. Instead we agreed that the role of an organization like Love and Rage (and something we already practice) is to provide leadership in movements to build power to the people."

Fuckin' A. First off, we did not agree that our role in the various movements was to "provide leadership to build power to the people," whatever that means. To be honest that sentence reads like straight-up vanguardism and is not at all like what I think revolutionary anarchist participation in mass movements is all about.

Within Anti-Racist Action Network for instance, Love and Rage helps build ARA groups and campaigns that are open and democratic, not front groups. We struggle against attempts by any elite to dominate. We argue and fight for our revolutionary anarchist perspective while collaborating with a few hundred radicals coming from many different perspectives, as equals period. We teach as we learn.

"Providing leadership" is not an accurate description of Love and Rage's approach towards work within the ARA Network, nor would I guess it describes our work in Mexico City and Chiapas, or our participation in the movement to free Mumia or local anti-police brutality committees.

A final word on the use of "McCarthyite loyalty oath" to describe the reaffirming anarchism proposal floated at the conference. The proposal was part of a political

debate within Love and Rage and our circles, folks are free to disagree with it or attack it, etc. But it's not McCarthyism. Ain't no one going to prison, losing their job, or being forced underground. So let's argue our differences in the realm of reality.

Solidarity,

Kieran Frazier  
Detroit Love and Rage

## MORE ON LEADERSHIP (RESPONSE)

First I'd like to identify myself as the author of the statements that Kieran singled out from last issue's conference report. Then, I'd like to defend them. Quite a few hands went into adapting a piece the production group received from Duff McIntosh, but the final version was mostly my doing. In retrospect, it does seem that my report about the reaffirmation of revolutionary anarchism was definitely biased. Maybe that's inevitable. I'm glad at least that it provoked a letter.

I enthusiastically agree with Kieran on the need for Love and Rage to keep its strength in anarchism and its "uncompromising hostility to all oppression, hierarchy, and elites including the state." Kieran doesn't seem to disagree with the idea that we can also learn from sources and traditions other than anarchism. I wrote that folks "CLAIM to have learned from Marxism without adopting a stages theory of history or an elitist outlook," not that they have successfully done so. I actually included these two dangers because they're precisely what's at risk in any attempt to borrow Marxist ideas.

Another kind of danger in this debate is the tendency to throw around very vague accusations that fail to directly confront the issues involved. This was the problem with the call to reaffirm revolutionary anarchism made at the conference; it fed suspicions

(Continued to page 23)



# Fight Back Against Austerity

A mother of two commits suicide after being evicted from her home when her public assistance is cut. A young woman is forced to drop out of college in order to fulfill her workfare assignment picking up trash in a public park. An elderly man with a heart condition is forced to scrub public buses as a workfare assignment until he is disabled by a heart attack. Every day the policies of fiscal austerity—of welfare reform and workfare, of cuts in education and social services—claim more victims.

The policies of austerity are borne disproportionately by children and women and by communities of color. The powers that be claim that these measures are acts of necessity, that everybody has to tighten their belts. But of course "everybody" never really means everybody. Publicly-financed prison construction is booming. Cities and states compete to give large corporations larger tax abatements. Police forces are being expanded. Tobacco subsidies remain in place. Military spending remains at Cold War levels. Austerity measures are not being driven by the need to cut public spending but by a need to cut public spending that benefits poor and working people.

These policies of austerity can only be understood as a form of class war. They are an assault on what is called the "social wage." The social wage means the minimum standard of living supported directly or indirectly by public assistance, food stamps, rent subsidies and all other social services. The social wage is important for all working-class people because it establishes an effective minimum wage below which employers will not be able to find anybody to take the jobs they have to offer. It also provides the essentials for survival when jobs are not available.

The austerity policies that are being imposed across the US are part of a larger global pattern of attacks on poor and work-

ing people called "neo-liberalism." Neo-liberalism refers to the free-market policies of free trade, unfettered international movement of capital, privatization of state-owned industries, and cuts in social spending. Neo-liberalism is the dominant strategy of the international capitalist ruling class—the owners of banks and multinational corporations—in the current period.

Some anarchists see a dilemma in taking a stand against cuts to welfare or other forms of public spending. Doesn't such a stand imply a reliance on the state to solve our problems? To be sure most of the opposition to "welfare reform" and budget cuts has been reformist: if we can just make the politicians understand the pain they are causing, some say, then they will stop. But to refuse to participate in a struggle because there are people in that struggle who still have illusions about this system is to abdicate the responsibilities of revolutionaries. The new austerity policies are not going to be defeated by letters to elected officials or even by angry demonstrations, because those policies reflect deep structural changes taking place within capitalism. And as efforts to beat back these attacks by reformist methods fail, many people involved in the struggle are going to begin to question those methods.

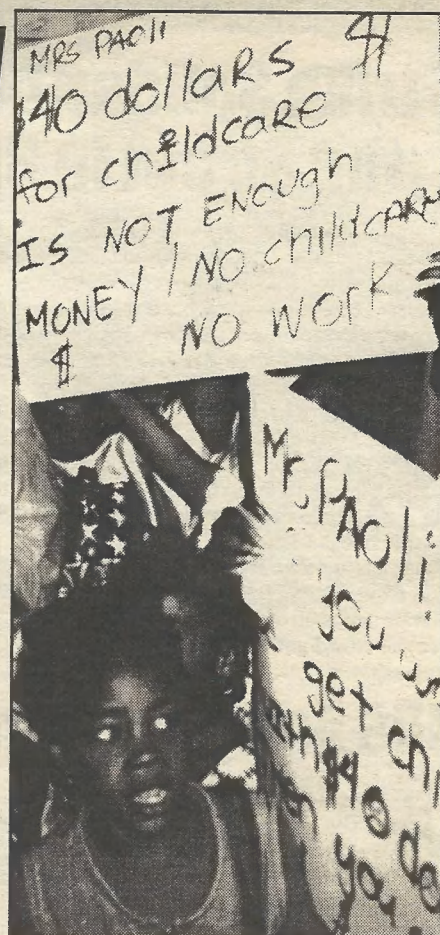
Revolutionary anarchists need to be there when that process of radicalization takes place. It is already taking place in dozens of communities across the US. In Minnesota the Welfare Rights Committee has carried out a sustained and militant campaign against the State Legislature's efforts to implement welfare reform. The camouflage-clad Kensington Welfare Rights Union recently completed a march across New Jersey from Philadelphia to the United Nations in New York City to protest welfare reform as a human rights violation. And there are many more examples in communities and groups across the US.

Anarchists should participate in a princi-

pled manner in the struggles that are breaking out against austerity policies. We should not hide our politics within those struggles, but neither should we act in a sectarian manner that drives people away from those politics. We should be patient with the processes by which people develop their own politics and also be prepared to learn from participation in these struggles ourselves.

Three principles stand out that should inform our participation in these struggles. The first is self-reliance. An important function of welfare in this society to create a relationship of dependency on the part of the poor in order to make them easier to control. Attitudes of dependency must be fought. Who really depends on whom? We must always remember that the rich depend on us to do the work that makes them rich. Strong traditions of self-reliance already exist among many poor people. Working off the books and other hustles, informal childcare networks, are a few examples. These should be upheld. But these practices should not be romanticized. Capitalism is able to exploit poor people precisely because the resources the poor have at their disposal are in the final analysis inadequate for survival. There should be no shame in demanding the necessities of life from the powers that be. Self-reliance means organizing on the basis of what we have to take what is rightfully ours.

The second principle is democracy. The movement against austerity policies will become a real threat only insofar as it represents the self-organization and self-activity of people who have nothing to lose by going up against this system. That means organizations must be truly democratic and accountable to the rank and file. Social workers and professional organizers often presume to speak for the poor and set the political agenda for poor peoples' movements. We need to challenge this tendency and stand up for the ability of poor people to organize themselves



People forced into workfare, their allies and their kids take over a New York welfare office to protest inadequate and illegal childcare policy.

and direct their own struggles.

The third principle is direct action. Whether it is taking over an office to demand services from the government or taking over a building to make it available to the homeless, organizing against austerity should start from a recognition of the power of the people to take matters into their own hands. Reforms that are won by revolutionary means strengthen the revolutionary movement and give people the means to fight on another day.★

## "Socialist" Victory in France and England?

BY WAYNE PRICE

In May the British Labor Party was elected to office with Tony Blair as the new Prime Minister. In the beginning of June, the French Socialist Party candidate, Lionel Jospin, was elected as Premier. Now, of 15 member nations of the European Community (really western Europe), nine have Socialist governments and three have governments with Socialists in coalitions. So is a Socialist utopia being created in Europe? Will they, in the words of the old Labor Party hymn, "build a new Jerusalem in England's [or Europe's] green and pleasant land?"

This is an important question for those on the US left who are working to build a US version of Social Democracy (meaning reformist, electoral, state socialism). In the US, their hope is to either win over the Democratic Party (more and more a bizarre idea) or to build a progressive third party—a Green or Labor or New Party—modeled on European parties.

### WHY THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS WON

These elections are popular responses to the neoliberal attack on the living standards of working people throughout the world. For 18 years the British were ruled by the Tory (or Conservative) Party, most of that time led by Margaret Thatcher. The Tories brutally attacked the working conditions, pay, security, and welfare benefits of the people, and beat back union struggles, while playing to racist anti-immigrant feelings. In 1996, a UN agency found that the poorest 20% of Britain were as poor as the poorest 20% of Hungary. The British people were fed up; they were not excited by the Labor Party but they desperately wanted "change."

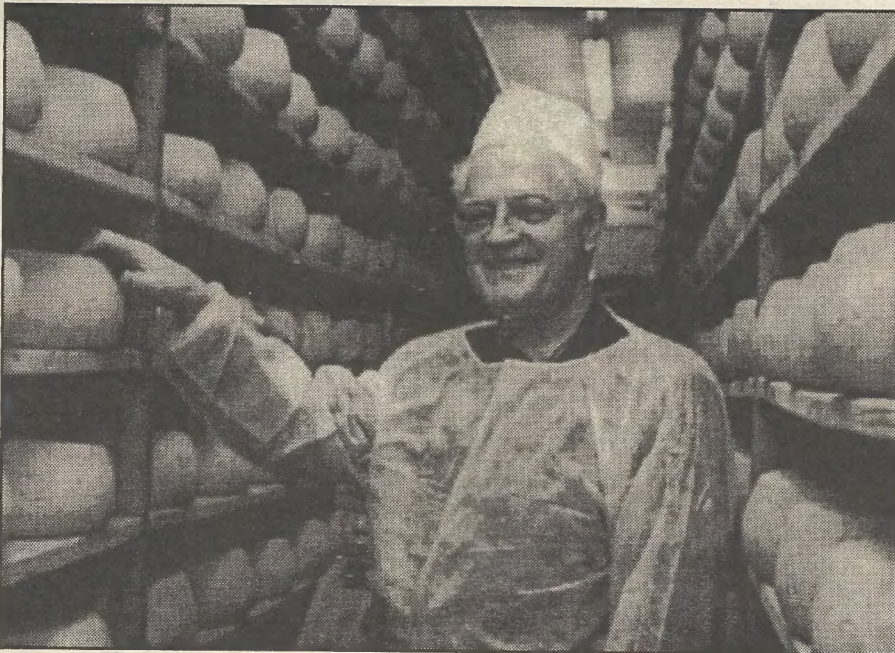
In France, four years ago the voters threw out the Socialists and put in right-wing parties. The Socialists had failed to keep their promises, attacked the workers, and presided over an upsurge in unemployment. And top party leaders were embroiled in financial scandals. The French conservatives promised to bring down unemployment but did not do it. Instead they further attacked the workers, farmers, college students and immigrants. The French responded with waves of strikes and mass demonstrations.

These shook the government and forced it to back off of several of its policies. Finally, the government called an early election, hoping for a popular endorsement. Instead the people turned to the Left in a big way.

However, the elected parties are "Labor" or "Socialist" only in an historical sense. Tony Blair took leadership of the Labor

Parties, saying they should abandon "old style" ideas of "more spending or regulations...Our task today is not to fight old battles...As I said to the British Labor Party a few years ago, we modernize or die." He got a standing ovation.

France's Lionel Jospin has presented a somewhat more Leftist face. He has



Jospin poses at a cheese storage facility—proof that social democratic politics are not only bad, but cheesy.

Party by pledging to drop all socialist ideas and by cutting the power of the unions in the party. He admires Bill Clinton for turning the US Democrats to the right. As Clinton called himself a "New Democrat," Blair calls his party "New Labor." He has also announced his admiration for Margaret Thatcher and promised not to turn back her "reforms." Like Clinton and Thatcher, he has promised to cut welfare and scolded the "workless class." He threatened to force thousands of single mothers to get jobs or face losing benefits. Blair's proposed budget offers huge tax cuts to big business and nothing to the middle class or working classes. After the election, he addressed the Congress of European Social Democratic

promised to create new jobs, to maintain social benefits and to protect immigrant rights. However, Jospin has made clear that he is no longer the revolutionary Marxist he was in his youth. He said, "it isn't a demand for everything at once, which nobody believes in anymore. It isn't naive belief in promises that have several times not been kept in the past. It is...long term progress." The record of the last time the Socialists were in power does not inspire confidence that he will carry out even this limited approach, especially since he has also promised to continue the process of French integration into the European Community's economy, which will require giving up various national

protections the French state has kept for its workers and farmers.

More generally, the various European Social Democratic parties have been unable to solve the sluggish European economy, to stop rising unemployment, to prevent cuts in social services, to fight rising racism and nationalism, or to counter ecological destruction. They have failed to do anything about the horrors of the war in the former Yugoslavia. They have long ago abandoned any idea of creating a new, free and cooperative society. Now they are abandoning even the welfare state.

### THE STATE IS NOT NEUTRAL

The Social Democratic perspective makes two key errors. The first is the belief that the state is neutral between the oppressed and the oppressors, workers and bosses, Left and Right. They believe that, just as the Right can use the state in order to oppress the people, so the Left can use the same state to free people. But the state is a machine of oppression, a creature of capitalism, patriarchy, racism, and imperialist war-making. True, through struggle the oppressed can force it to give some benefits. Similarly the management of a business may be forced by a strike to provide benefits to its workers—but management remains capitalist and oppressive, and so does the state.

Getting elected, to begin with, is very difficult for a radical. Uncounted barriers stand in the way. Big organizations and big money are needed even to run a campaign.

Once elected, a real representative of the people is frustrated by complicated systems of "checks and balances" which prevent anything progressive from being done. In Britain there is the House of Lords which, amazingly, still has the power to interfere in legislation. In France, the current Socialist premier and parliament has to deal with a Conservative as president. The US, in particular, has a very complex system of obstacles, what with its two houses of Congress, its executive branch, and the courts. In all countries, the courts

(Continued to page 21)



## Strike Solidarity Rally Takes to the Street in Burlington, VT

Burlington, Vermont—A June 17 rally in solidarity with the 1,800 locked-out Detroit newspaper strikers attracted over 75 people who were in no mood to be pushed around.

Protesters gathered at the Gannett-owned Burlington *Free Press* to demonstrate against Gannett's union busting in Detroit and to call for a boycott of the Burlington *Press* until Gannett signs a contract with the strikers and brings them back to work. The demonstration followed an early June speaking tour in Vermont by two strikers from Detroit.

Protesters quickly set up a moving picket line in front of the *Free Press* offices while a few brave souls attempted to block the door. When the crowd got bigger, spirits lifted and

an impromptu march took off up Church Street, Burlington's "pedestrian mall."

The marchers then paraded down the middle of Main Street at high noon, snarling traffic under the wary eyes of a couple of boys in blue. Returning to the *Free Press* building, members of Vermont Love & Rage, the Burlington IWW, the Labor Party and the United Electrical Workers gave brief speeches. The demonstration was covered by local television stations and—surprise—the Burlington *Free Press*.

According to police reports, nearly sixty *Free Press* and *USA Today* (another Gannett paper) newspaper boxes were found vandalized that night, costing Gannett thousands of dollars.★

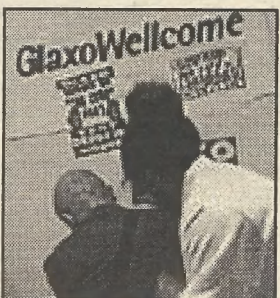
## AIDS Activists Slam Drug Profiteer

On June 24th, 1997, AIDS activists from the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP/NY) seized the investor relations office of Glaxo-Wellcome on Park Avenue to protest the pharmaceutical giant's criminally inadequate AIDS drug development and expanded access programs. Seven demonstrators were arrested after holding the office for an hour and a half.

Demonstrators are angry at Glaxo's plans for an expanded access program for a new drug begun in July for 2,500 people worldwide. It is widely believed a minimum of 10,000 people in the United States alone need immediate access to this potentially life-saving drug. Demonstrators demanded a written commitment from top company officials to immediately launch an expanded access program open to all in need for abacavir (1592) and the new protease inhibitor (141 W94). Activists also demanded the company adequately test the drugs in pregnant and non-pregnant women. Scientists have found differences between men and women in dosing of a significant number of drugs. Company officials refused to meet the demands of the demonstrators.

Glaxo-Wellcome is becoming a target of many AIDS organizations worldwide. The Canadian group, AIDS Action NOW, demonstrated Thursday, June 19 in Toronto at a Glaxo plant that just opened, demanding a larger expanded access program for 1592. The San Francisco board of supervisors is slated to vote on a resolution calling

on Glaxo to provide 1592 for all people with AIDS in San Francisco who need it. In addition, a growing number of AIDS organizations have called for a boycott against Glaxo. Groups as far away as Israel and Argentina have signed on to the boycott. Even the new White House AIDS czar Sandy Thurman is attempting to negotiate with Glaxo for larger supplies of 1592.



Glaxo-Wellcome has been a major manufacturer of AIDS drugs since the early days of the epidemic. Activists charge that they have been price-gouging from the beginning. The new drug 1592, already proven stronger than its predecessors

AZT and Efavir (3TC), will replace both drugs. According to Bill Bahlman of ACT UP/New York, "Glaxo-Wellcome's slow development of 1592 is due to the pharmaceutical giant's desire to squeeze the very last profit dollars out of its cash cows AZT and 3TC until their patents run out." Thus far, Glaxo has reaped an astonishing \$2.54 billion in sales of AZT. And while sales of AZT and 3TC skyrocketed in 1996, Glaxo slapped a 3% price increase on these overpriced drugs last fall. They now retail for nearly \$3,800 and \$3,100 per year respectively. Activists also demand the company drastically lower these prices immediately.★

ACT UP urges you to boycott Glaxo-Wellcome products Santac and Zovirax, and to call Glaxo-Wellcome's CEO Robert Ingram at 919-248-2100 and pressure him to meet the above demands.

## Class War No More

The Class War Federation has dissolved itself. Class War emerged from England's anarchist scene in the early 1980s in opposition to pacifist, middle-class, and anti-organizational tendencies there. Despite criticism from other anarchists, Class War confronted these problems head on by celebrating violence against the ruling class and their cops; by their overwhelming emphasis on class-based organizing, and by building a solid organization.

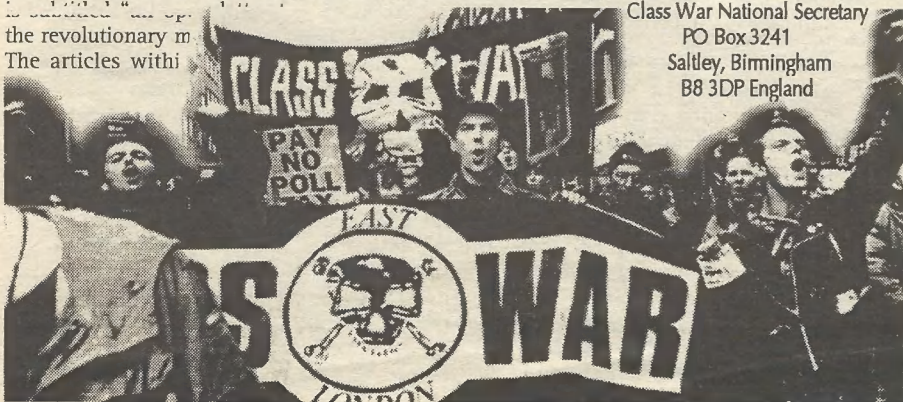
Class War's newspaper was very popular and inspired many other anarchist papers to adopt a more humorous and politically provocative approach. Class War was also influential politically; they published a book, *Unfinished Business: The Politics of Class War*, which was widely distributed.

The final edition of their newspaper departs from their usual "popular" style, and is instead aimed at other revolutionaries. It is subtitled "an end to the revolutionary movement." The articles within

ing the federation, and they make many honest and sober self-criticisms. Class War isn't giving up on politics; they say they are dissolving precisely to clear the ground to try to build toward something new. They don't give many details of what they hope to build, though this is likely because they want to work with other people and don't want to set the terms of something new before it even exists.

While the majority of Class War decided to call it quits, there was dissent. The majority of the London Class War group disagreed with the decision to fold and is pursuing a different direction than the rest of the ex-federation. Look for a more in-depth analysis of the demise of Class War in future issues of *Love & Rage*.★

Order your copy of the final edition of Class War:  
Class War National Secretary  
PO Box 3241  
Saltley, Birmingham  
B8 3DP England



## Housing Takeover in San Fran

By ANDERS CORR

Chaos reigned at the biggest Homes Not Jails takeover ever on July 26, when 65 people occupied and barricaded doors and windows of two vacant houses at the Presidio, a decommissioned San Francisco Army Base turned National Park. About 150 more demonstrators made speeches and danced outside, and two squatters locked themselves to a handrail on one of the houses. Earlier in the day, a crowd of 500 listened to Ramona Africa speak, and then marched with huge puppets, snarling traffic at major downtown intersections.

Homes Not Jails, a squatting group that promotes affordable housing for homeless people, has demanded since 1994 that the federal government stop a planned demolition of 466 vacant units at the Wherry Housing complex in the Presidio. Homes Not Jails cites the McKinney Act, a federal law passed by Congress in 1987 that requires federal agencies to turn vacant federal properties over to homeless advocacy groups for affordable housing.

Homes Not Jails adopted more militant tactics than usual for the takeover. They barricaded themselves inside by nailing the doors and windows shut, and two activists locked themselves to steel railing on the buildings with a "black bear." Earth First! cosponsored the event and gave tips on black bears, which are heavy iron pipes welded together at an angle, and a bar welded in the middle.

Activists locked themselves to the bar and gave police the choice of gingerly cutting the black bear to avoid maiming the activists, or cutting the railing. Police cut the railing. They arrested, fingerprinted, and then released the two, who remained locked together throughout.

Police foiled original plans to occupy other units, where squatters were ready with more permanent Earth First! lockdown devices: black bears embedded in two 55 gallon drums filled with concrete. Police tried to roll the drums down the stairs from two second story apartments. When the first drum got to the landing, its weight crushed the cement and it fell half-way through. It remains there, suspended in mid-air. The second drum fell all the way through another landing, and crashed to the ground. "It looks like they bombed the place," said a member of Homes Not Jails who visited the scene.

Police charged all the activists with illegal assembly, trespassing, and those who gave fake names during jail solidarity

negotiations got charged with giving false information. But surprisingly, even those who had no identification got released. The 65 arrestees have a Federal court date on August 14.

In 1994 when the Presidio occupations started, only 32 people got arrested all year. Established housing and environmental groups derided Homes Not Jails for choosing to defend the unpopular condemned housing, which they thought had no chance of survival.

Since then the numbers arrested have steadily grown and so has the determination of activists. This year more than 200 people got arrested, and many of those pessimistic groups have announced their support for Wherry Housing. Religious Witness with Homeless People, a group that includes Christians, Buddhists, Jews, and Native American religious figures, has also started organizing takeovers at the Presidio. Even the Mayor has an affordable housing plan for the site, albeit a weak one. Victory seems plausible, if organizers can keep the issue in the public eye long enough to sway the mood. Otherwise the public will pay \$16 million to tear down \$80 million worth of good housing.★

To get free materials and advice on how to do a housing takeover and start a Homes Not Jails in your area, call San Francisco Homes Not Jails (415) 282-5525

or visit the Boston Homes Not Jails web site at <http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/7996/>.



Homes Not Jails takeover at the Presidio, San Francisco, July 26.

## Feminist Poet Rejects Arts Award

In June, feminist poet Adrienne Rich turned down the 1997 National Medal for the Arts, an award given annually by the National Endowment for the Arts, staffed by Clinton appointees.

Rich is the first artist to publicly reject the award for political reasons. She said that, "the very meaning of art, as I understand it, is incompatible with the cynical politics of this administration." She said that art "means nothing if it simply decorates the dinner-table of power which

holds it hostage." She also said that she is disturbed by the widening gap between those who have wealth and power and those who do not.

In addition to writing 15 volumes of poetry, Rich has written many political essays, such as the highly influential essay "Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence," which played an important role in challenging heterosexuality as the norm, on the left and in society.

Support artists who resist oppression!★

## Komboa Nabbed Down Under

On July 8, Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin was arrested by the Australian government for being an "illegal non-citizen" after they revoked his visa and accused him of "falsifying his visa application," being "a person of bad character," and a "terrorist." The Australian government cited as evidence Kom'boa's 1969 conviction for hijacking a plane to Cuba. Ervin denied the government's claims, stating that he fully disclosed his criminal record. Apparently Australia's High Court agreed and quickly ordered the return of Kom'boa's visa.

The push to deport Kom'boa came from "One Nation Party" leader, Pauline Hanson, a racist demagogue who claims Aboriginal people "practice cannibalism" and Asian

migrants "are stealing our nation." Hanson's supporters include "former" Ku Klux Klan leader, David Duke and fascists aligned with National Action, a neo-Nazi group. None of these qualities apparently constitute "bad character" according to Australian government.

Ervin was on a speaking tour organized by the anarchist group Angry People. After his arrest, Ervin reported that he was thrown into a maximum security prison facility where he was physically abused by the Australian police. As a result of the legal complications surrounding his visa, Kom'boa was forced to cut short the remainder of his speaking tour. He plans to pursue legal action against the Australian government.★



# Working Poor Demand Livable Wage

## The Elusive Fight for Survival Under Capitalism

By Jason Winston / #10 Collective

A very serious look on her face, Debra Locke rose from her chair, looked around the room, and spoke.

"Sometimes I feel that poverty is the way of eliminating people who are too poor and weak to fight back."

As she continued, the applause began slowly and then swept across the room. Locke described her personal situation as a single mother of three, working for a temp agency, doing everything she can to support her family. The problem, said Locke, is that her wages amount to less than half of what she received as a welfare recipient.

Anne Cruickshank echoed Locke, saying that she had earned higher wages as a heavy equipment operator fifteen years ago than she currently received for the same job.

"I'd like a job that pays a livable wage. Where are they? They're not here. I want to know why there's no business here."

Locke and Cruickshank were just the first of many angry voices at a May 12 'Speak Out for a Living Wage' organized by Central Vermonters for a Living Wage and held at the Teamsters Hall in Barre, Vermont. Nearly 100 people packed the hall, discussing the ways low wages, underemployment, unemployment, welfare reform and union busting are affecting their lives. Many speakers also pointed to the concentration of wealth in the hands of a very wealthy few as a major cause of these problems.

### THE RICH ARE GETTING RICHER...

Debra Locke and Anne Cruickshank aren't imagining all these problems. Since 1973, the standard of living has declined for 80% of American workers and yet the average American works an additional 160 hours a year. The bottom 90% of us only own only 29% of the wealth. Benefiting from this situation, CEO's commonly earn more than 200 times the wages of their employees. The wealthiest 1% of Americans own 40% of the nation's privately owned wealth. Profits are higher than they have ever been for almost all Fortune 500 corporations.

To top it all off, the minimum wage is currently at a thirty-year low in buying power. Customary routes to increasing wages, like unionization, are being effectively blocked by extremely savvy, international, mobile corporations. By the government's own count—which is just a little bit suspect—124,000 workers have lost their jobs due to the North American Free Trade Agreement.

So what's going on? Why are we constantly hearing that the economy is booming, inflation is low, and unemployment is practically nonexistent? This is true for the richest Americans—and no one else. Traditionally it was argued that workers had to be paid a certain minimum wage in order to ensure demand for consumer products and keep the economy functioning. Today, this view has been cast aside. The internationalization of the economy, along with an increasing reliance on credit, has led elites to conclude that demand for products will remain strong even while working people see jobs downsized, wages decline, and health care disappear. Simply put, the majority of us are less and less necessary.

How do we fight back? Unions, while frantically organizing, are barely able to keep their membership numbers from sinking. Non-traditional, effective organizing approaches have to be found just to have some hope of minimizing the worst effects of these economic changes.

### LIVING WAGE CAMPAIGNS

One partial answer to the problems I've described might be living wage campaigns. Over the last two years, nearly fifty living

wage campaigns have been organized across the US, winning victories in at least fifteen cities. While definitions of what a living wage is vary, a minimum definition is an hourly wage that allows people who are working full-time to pay for rent, food, utilities, phone, health care, transportation, child care, clothing, and taxes. Boy, people just want the world, huh?

Living wage campaigns are almost always city- or state-based, understanding that the left is too weak to win significant victories at the national level. Usually they are partnerships between progressive non-profit groups, community organizations, and unions. The Los Angeles Campaign is a typical example of a successful coalition, being composed of ACORN, the Service Employees International Union, Democratic Socialists of America (the 'radical fringe' group) the Coalition to End Homelessness, and the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union.

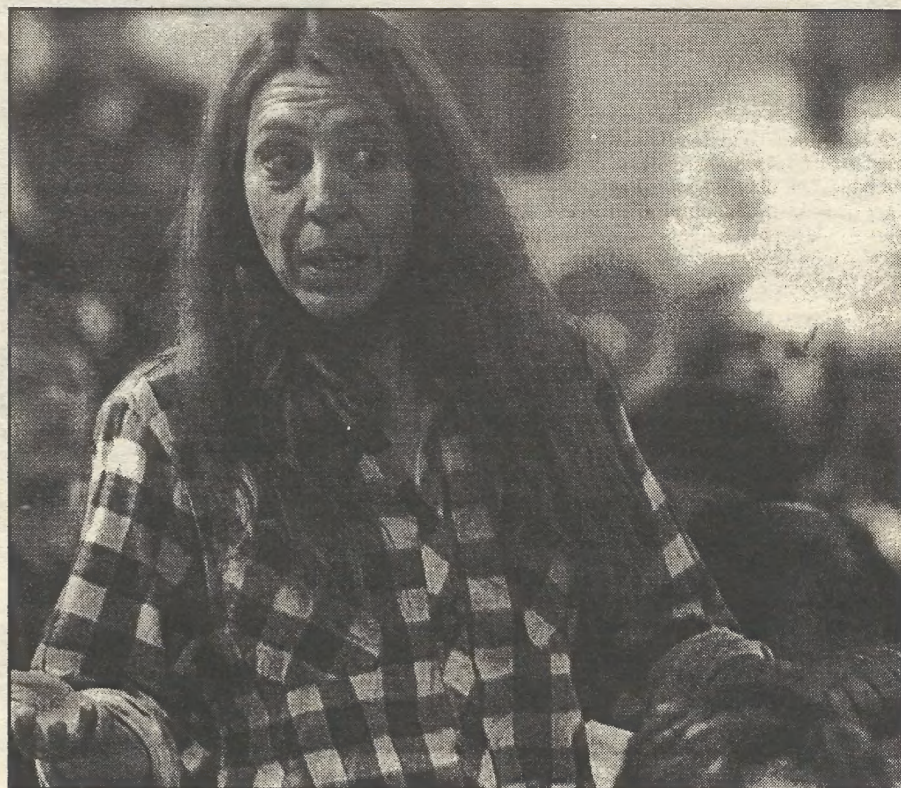
The issues local campaigns organize around aren't glamorous and neither are the tactics they use. Successful campaigns most often fight for a living wage for city employees, or to require city contractors and companies receiving tax subsidies to pay a living wage. Less often, campaigns seek to establish a city-based minimum wage, or win steep increases in the minimum wage at the city level. These campaigns rarely succeed. The Houston campaign, which had organized for a referendum on a city-wide minimum wage of \$6.50/hour was the subject of a million-dollar last-minute advertising blitz by Houston businesses. The vote went predictably, with seventy-seven percent of voters opposing a living wage.

Common tactics include referendums, petition drives, advertising campaigns, and passing legislation in city council and state legislatures. As mundane as these things may be, living wage campaigns are effective. In LA, for example, thousands of workers will receive raises—and protection of those raises. And these efforts have been replicated successfully across the country in places like Minneapolis-St. Paul, New York, Baltimore, Milwaukee, Oregon, Jersey City, etc.

### AN ANARCHIST APPROACH?

There are many glaring problems with living wage campaigns from an anarchist perspective. The campaigns are usually conducted by paid organizers of unions and non-profits who are attempting to create change primarily through legislation. This leads to "revolution from above" tactics where campaign decisions are made by a few people and the only community "participation" is in signing petitions or voting on referendums.

With the notable exception of Baltimore (where low-wage service workers in a group called Baltimoreans United In Leadership Development (BUILD) successfully campaigned for a mandatory living wage for employees of city contractors) living wage campaigns have little participation from the people who actually stand to gain from them. For these reasons, living wage campaigns are really not being used to build a mass movement. And then there's the question of what issues get raised during the campaign. The political perspective put forward is usually very limited and based on a cautious use of statistics. An anti-authoritarian perspective that clearly delineates why corporations and the government have impoverished so many of us is rarely raised. Nor is an anarchist vision of community control of the economy and decision-making generally voiced. This critique could go on and on and on—but you get the idea.



Working mother of three from Barre, VT speaks of her difficulties making ends meet at Living Wage forum

So how do we do this in a radical way? Convinced that a way can be found to combine bread-and-butter economic issues, community organizing, and anarchist politics, the #10 Collective, a Love & Rage local group, started a living wage campaign in the central Vermont area in October of '96. (The central Vermont area is around Montpelier for you flatlanders.)

### VERMONT LIVING WAGE CAMPAIGN

Our living wage campaign began by starting a coalition group, Central Vermonters for a Living Wage, and doing very simple campaigns to pass resolutions on the need for a living wage in three town meetings in the towns where coalition members lived. Using this as an outreach opportunity, we went door-to-door in January and February, having individual conversations with close to a thousand people. During the annual March town meeting the resolution passed nearly unanimously in all three towns. The coalition grew slowly too, to include ten progressive groups and unions, students, welfare recipients, and people who can't be neatly labeled.

Building on this success we spent April and May going door-to-door in Barre, an industrial town historically dominated by the granite industry. Today, Barre is in rough shape. Half of the storefronts on main street are vacant. Factories are shutting down and unemployment is high. Again, we met with overwhelming support and held the successful speakout described at the beginning of this article.

Now, Central Vermonters for a Living Wage is involved in two projects. The first is a two year project to increase the state minimum wage to \$8.00 per hour. This figure is based on a recent study by the Burlington-based Peace & Justice Center, which found that a living wage for a single Vermonter working full time was \$8.21 per hour. The second project is a campaign in partnership with Barre school custodians and groundskeepers to stop the Barre School Board from privatizing their jobs and cutting wages nearly in half. Living wage campaigns are being launched in Randolph and Burlington, with activists in Bennington and Brattleboro considering doing the same.

So what about that anarchist approach? Central Vermonters for a Living Wage is

not an anarchist group—but it does contain anarchist voices within it. With mixed success, Love & Rage members and others have pushed for democratic decision making and a focus on building a mass movement that wins changes because of the power it is able to mobilize. Working within the system to win legislative changes has been repeatedly criticized as a very limited tactic that is usually counterproductive.

Anarchists have worked to build a movement by prioritizing outreach and making our politics accessible to all. Campaign activists hope to win significant victories that improve people's lives immediately. But most also understand that a living wage can never be fully won under capitalism. This has allowed anarchists to discuss why this is and what we see as an alternative.

We have a long way to go and a lot to learn. But throughout North America, different campaigns are emerging that are organizing around class issues in a radical way, seeking new tactics and new partners. In New York City and Quebec, anarchists are centrally involved in fights against tuition hikes in public universities. In Ontario, anarchists are organizing against the broad cutback being imposed by Premier Mike Harris. In Detroit, members of Anti-Racist Action have fought to require that jobs on stadiums and other public construction projects go to local residents. In Minneapolis, Vermont, and New York, anarchists are fighting against welfare reform and the imposition of workfare. On the national level, Love & Rage has started the Against Austerity Working Group to put forth a radical approach to these fights and to help develop effective strategy. ★

### Information Exchange Project

As a way of facilitating learning from ongoing activism and comparing experiences, Love & Rage's Against Austerity Working Group is running an information exchange project. We are currently compiling brief descriptions of the kind of organizing anti-authoritarians and anarchists are doing around tuition hikes, welfare reform and workfare, other social service cutbacks, union organizing strike support, living wage campaigns and other class-based activism. If you or your organization would like to send a brief one to two page description of the kind of activity you are involved in, the strategies being pursued, major victories or defeats, and the difficulties you are having, we will send you copies of all submissions that we receive.

For more information contact  
#10 Collective / Vermont Love & Rage  
Box 26  
North Montpelier, VT 05666





# An Inconvenient Enemy

BY JORGE

The Zapatista struggle has without doubt represented the most reinvigorating hope for change in Mexican society in recent times. Just as the businessmen-politicians were wanting us to believe that Mexico was joining the first world, through the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the indigenous people of Chiapas opened our eyes and brought us back to reality. A country half of whose population lives in extreme misery cannot accept, even a little, the lies of its government.

The power that the Zapatistas have had to bring people together has surpassed all expectations, since a year ago their Intercontinental Encuentro Against Neoliberalism and for Humanity brought together more than 3,000 people from 43 countries in the Lacandon Jungle.

For the Zapatistas and all their supporters, the Encuentro achieved its goal, breaking the circle of isolation and invisibility that surrounds the indigenous communities. It was a breath of life and a starting point, the beginning of a concrete hope. It was not the triumph of the rebellion made general, but it was interesting, provocative, and it was inconvenient for those in power.

During the Encuentro, a Greek anarchist friend said to me that really, he didn't know if the international solidarity movement had done enough to aid the Zapatista cause, but that the Zapatistas, with their uprising, had reinvigorated the Autonomous and Anti-Authoritarian movement in Europe. Through Zapatista solidarity meetings he had met with collectives from other countries, who wanted not only to talk about the question of Chiapas, but also about many other shared concerns, such as anti-racist activism, the sharing of experiences in creating social centers, and information from many different publications, etc.

In my opinion, the international aid has been much more significant than what has come from within Mexico. And I'm not speaking simply of money, which it is obviously easier to raise in other countries, but also of the mobilizations, information distribution, and commitment to the Zapatista struggle.

It is certainly true that in the most important moments—January of 1994 and February of 1995—Mexican society responded with demonstrations of more than 200,000 people to prevent the Mexican Army from advancing. But the rest of the time, those who are really committed to the Zapatistas are few and spread out across Mexico.

I believe that the international solidarity has been more honest, with its interests being in the causes of the uprising, and above all it has been much more constant in its attention to political developments in Chiapas.



Zapata in the House

The Zapatistas do not propose to struggle like a political party, or on the side of political parties, seeking positions in the government. Nor do they propose to seize state power. Instead, they understand the need for a concrete democracy with justice and dignity, and they understand the need to build that democracy, because it does not exist today.

The Zapatistas' proposal encounters two kinds of obstacles: one from the government, which opposes the construction of this democracy; and the other from economic groups who support the government, and who benefit from its neoliberal policies.

The construction of an alternative economy requires today the construction of a new political morality, of a new social morality, and of a pluralist democracy in which the people participate directly, respecting the dignity of individuals and collectives. It also requires that this same dignity is not lost amidst corruption and crimes, as it was lost in social democratic, communist, and nationalist revolutions.

A pluralist democracy cannot limit itself among ethnicities; it must include everyone—Mestizos, whites, yellow people and black people. A pluralist democracy does not limit itself among nations—it does not limit itself to the countries of the south, or to the three continents of Asia, Africa, and Latin America—it must also include and bring together Europe, North America, and Oceania. To bring together and not exclude is logical. The struggle against neoliberalism must be a struggle of all of humanity, and not just the workers and oppressed people, although they will continue to be the principal actors.

All of the preceding comes from acts and statements of the Zapatista Army, in the "intergalactic" Encuentro meeting of last year, as they ironically called it.

The supporters of the Zapatistas say that they do not know where the history of man- and woman-kind will go, and confess that they do not have an exact (or inexact) strategy for all human beings to live in freedom, without oppression or exclusion. The theory of the jungle appears in ideas and feelings, in discussions and narratives, in stories and dialogues. Instead of being a systematic theory and calling itself theory, it is a social movement in dialogue. One of its leaders said: "when we are together we are an assembly, when we are apart we are a network."

The armed struggle lasted for 12 days in January of 1994. Since this time the war has progressed with words, with meetings, with communiqués, and with dialogues,

rebels. It was signing-as-spectacle, and not as commitment.

Eleven months later, the accord not only has not been enacted, but is being disavowed by the government. In December of 1996 a special commission of government representatives elaborated a proposal to amend the constitution and thereby come into agreement with the accord.

The EZLN said yes to the proposal. President Zedillo asked for time to consider his response, and 15 days later sent a document that not only said no, but also proposed backing out of the accord.

The EZLN ruled out further negotiations, and said that the government had to honor what it had already signed. Six months have passed and the government has as an argument only that the acceptance of indigenous autonomy would create a geographic and social division within the country, which is a lie, as they well know.

We ask ourselves whether the Federal Government could really be so stupid as to commit itself, sign accords before international observers, and then do the ridiculous, contradicting the laws they themselves had passed. If we analyze the signed accords, they only represent the smallest part of the demands put forward by the EZLN when they took up arms. The majority of demands—such as health, education, life and political participation of indigenous people, have not yet been discussed.

The only thing that has been discussed was regarding the autonomy to directly decide the election of authorities within each population. This is already in accord with indigenous customs, making these decisions in assembly or by secret vote. The other point referred to territorial autonomy.

It is uncommon for indigenous Mexicans to be the owners of their own property. To

*[T]he indigenous people have erected a cathedral of dignity and honor. They have always been denied, forgotten and massacred, and lived many years hoping for justice... This time they will not bow their heads. This time they have said in one sentence the essence of their struggle: "No longer will there be a world without us."*

which have proven much more damaging to the inept government representatives.

Since then, the story is very simple, and sadly repeated throughout Mexican history. The Federal Government of Mexico saw itself obliged to negotiate with the indigenous rebels. Having screwed up the military operation of February 1995, the government placed its bets on long-term negotiations, which would give it time to regroup its forces. It was hoping for a propitious moment, and began making arguments and laying plans for a rapid and decisive military attack.

From among its ranks of mediocre bureaucrats, the government appointed a group to represent it at the peace talks. The strategy that this group followed was to try to show that the guerrillas only had power in a few of the municipalities of Chiapas, to later demand their unconditional surrender.

The failure of this strategy became obvious three months after the beginning of the dialogues, when the EZLN brought together a national and international consultation, to obtain the input of more than 1,000,000 Mexicans, and 200,000 foreigners. The rebels were able to impose an open and inclusive model of negotiation, and on the first topic, Indigenous Rights and Culture, brought in the participation of the best and most representative elements of the independent indigenous movement.

The majority of the indigenous people and the best of the specialists in the subject sat at the table that the Zapatistas opened to the whole people. They were able, despite the government and its co-conspirators, to construct a proposal that included all the needs and demands of the indigenous people. The accord was signed by the EZLN and representatives of the government on February 16, 1996.

The true interest of the government representatives was revealed the same day as the signing; the photograph focused on the government representatives, and left out the

sell the property, to change how the land is cultivated, to make use of the trees or the vegetation that are found in their land, the indigenous people need to ask for an infinity of permissions from the authorities in charge. The accords conferred autonomy upon the indigenous people to use their own property as they want to. Logically, this right does not extend to natural resources whose exploitation is exclusively reserved to the government—oil, minerals, harvesting forests, etc.

As we have seen, the signing of the accord did not represent the internal policies of the government. This is because the accord represents a huge loss of power and control over this territory; in effect, it debureaucratizes the laws in the countryside. Paradoxically, the carrying out of this agreement would have been a big point in favor of the government's national policy, and would probably have disposed the EZLN and other indigenous groups to concede certain other points in the peace negotiations. Because of this, in my opinion, the government was at one point disposed to carry out this accord, but now it represents a significant political burden, even though it has the promise of improving their recently diminished reputation. Without doubt the decisions in Mexico today are made in English, in the offices of the large transnational corporations.

With the entire neoliberal world in opposition, with the indifference of many Mexicans to their struggle, with the rifles of the army pointed at their heads, with disease killing their children, the indigenous people have erected a cathedral of dignity and honor. They have always been denied, forgotten and massacred, and lived many years hoping for justice, their justice.

This time it will not be so easy to finish with them. This time they will not bow their heads. This time they have said in one sentence the essence of their struggle: "No longer will there be a world without us."★



Zapatista at last years Encuentro



# Too Little Too Late for Detroit Newspaper Strikers

By ONE LOVE

**A**CTION MOTOWN '97 in support of Detroit's 2,000 locked out newspaper strikers was big on numbers and short on action: Pro-union sources put participation in the June 21 march and rally in the 60 to 100,000 range. The newspapers pushed a 10 to 20,000 figure. Actual turnout fell somewhere in between.

Militant action was non-existent. Reliance on the state was the overarching theme of the weekend's events. Starting Friday June 20, people were treated to claims of near victory. A Thursday ruling by a judge attached to the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) was the backdrop.

In a 113-page decision, Judge Thomas R. Wilks found Detroit's two daily newspapers guilty on 10 of 12 charges of unfair labor practices. If the ruling holds the papers will have to reinstate the striking workers and "displace, if necessary, replacement workers..."

The return to work could conceivably take up to two years, since the newspapers will appeal. The union strategy is to build political pressure towards securing a 10(j) federal injunction, which would effect an immediate return despite the appeals process.

For this to happen the NLRB's five-member governing board must decide to seek and successfully obtain such an injunction in the courts. None of this, if gained, returns to work nearly 200 strikers terminated for picket line offenses.

Not surprisingly, the AFL-CIO has diverted the movement strategy into putting political pressure on elected officials. Last year they turned down appeals for a mass action in Detroit. In doing this they cited the need to focus on getting Clinton re-elected. On June 9, AFL-CIO president John Sweeney and other union heads held a summit with President Clinton. Undoubtedly the situation in Detroit was one point on the agenda.

The union bureaucracy used its relationship with the Democratic Party to pull off

the NLRB announcement going into June 21. Now they are relying on these same ties to get them a 10(j) injunction. Tens of thousands of people were mobilized on June 21 to give the active ranks a feeling of involvement and accomplishment. Given the dissipation of the strike and the announced "progress" and hope, the mobilization was carried off without any independent direct action breaking loose as it had during Labor Day 1995. Just in case any folks were tempted, marchers were hurried on after a brief pause in front of the newspaper offices. A burly assemblage of union muscle was also assigned to guard the entrances, just in case.

A little color and spirit was added to a small piece of the march by a loose contingent of partisans of Rojo y Negro / Red and Black. The United Farm Workers (UFW), the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC), Industrial Workers of the World and anarchists had coordinated some weekend activities but had little impact. This effort was good and should be repeated at future labor actions.

The union misleaderships, the Democrats and the state still exert considerable authority over the most active layers of unionists. The reformist bureaucrats may succeed in pulling most of their (and others) chestnuts from the fire in Detroit but the union movement stands no stronger. One task of revolutionaries is to patiently hammer away at these chains that bind.★

## FOR A REVOLUTIONARY LABOR MOVEMENT

This march is a year and a half or more overdue. Now it happens with the strike called off and the majority of unionists locked-out. Those accepted back are working with no rights amidst scabs and turncoats.

A misguided commitment to legality and refusal to unleash working class power has brought us to this sorry state. A failure to develop and maintain a decidedly multi-racial character to the support movement in this majority Black city has helped isolate the strike. The strike needed to be connected to fights around the crisis in education, redevelopment, and the general 30 years of racist corporate and suburban neglect of Detroit.

Only direct action on a mass scale could turn this thing around and win justice for our sisters and brothers. A tri-county general strike in their support is needed. All labor organizations in the area should strike until all union members are returned to work.

The Detroit News Agency has waged a class war. From the jump, strikers and their supporters courageously answered the DNA's violence. But the union leaders chose to use their authority to pull people back from militant struggle. They retreated in the face of court injunctions, threats of racketeering charges and fear of losing the sympathies of "influential" figures.

The lesson of the Detroit newspaper strike is that of the Staley, CAT, Hommel and other strug-

gles: the labor movement must become self-consciously revolutionary if it is to advance.

By this we mean:

★ A refusal to submit to the capitalists' labor laws. Virtually all the tactics that build the unions—shop floor action, secondary boycotts, plant occupations, and general strikes—are illegal. The government is not neutral, but an ally of the bosses. We must not only break with the Democrats but refuse to collaborate with the capitalists' whole sham "democracy." Participation in their political institutions breeds corruption, weakness and defeat. To defend our interests we need independent combat, power and organization.

★ Class struggle not business unionism. We must throw off the strait jacket of company-by-company collective bargaining. We cannot win against the capitalist class, the courts, and cops by fighting on an employer-by-employer basis. We need neighborhood, district, and city-wide assemblies/councils that unite people from different workplaces, both employed and unemployed, young and older. Such class organizations need to fight in a revolutionary manner for the billions in funds (and control over their use) needed to rebuild our cities and communities. We must demand reparations from the corporations for decades of exploitation. We need daycare, health care, quality education, transportation and jobs under real democratic control of the people, not stadiums, casinos, and Hard Rock Cafes controlled by the rich.

Ultimately working and poor people need to take full control of society's resources and dismantle once and for all the government that serves only the privileged few. We can reorganize the economy and social life on a cooperative, democratic and decentralized basis instilled with the values of freedom, equality and mutual aid.★

text of flyer distributed at march by Love & Rage, Detroit Local



# Hostos Students Under Attack in NYC

By BRAD

**O**n May 27, five days before graduation, the Board of Trustees of the City University of New York (CUNY) passed a resolution prohibiting students at Hostos Community College from graduating unless they passed a university-wide English proficiency test (the CUNY Writing Assessment Test—CWAT). A year earlier, Hostos stopped requiring the test as the sole criterion of English proficiency. Instead, they developed their own writing test, and used that in combination with a number of other criteria to determine whether students had learned enough English to graduate. The students who were scheduled to graduate on June 1 had completed all the requirements that they were told they needed in order to graduate. The Trustees' decision singles out for attack the largely Latino student body at Hostos, and CUNY students who speak English as a second language in general. It is only the latest episode of a longer-term effort to drive large numbers of students of color out of CUNY.

The Trustees' decision threw hundreds of students into turmoil by changing their graduation requirements five days before graduation. The decision affected not only Hostos students, but students at five of CUNY's six community colleges. Such a shenanigan would be unspeakable at a private college or even at most state and city universities. But this spring, Hostos students found out that in the effort by the

governor, mayor and trustees to roll back open admissions at CUNY, anything goes.

## HOSTOS: BORN OUT OF THE OPEN ADMISSIONS STRUGGLE

Hostos opened in 1970 as a community college in the citywide CUNY system. It is a bilingual school, where 80% of the student body speaks Spanish as their first language. Many classes are taught in Spanish. It is located in the South Bronx, an extremely poor and largely immigrant neighborhood. CUNY students in general and Hostos students particularly are not stereotypical American college students. A 1986 CUNY study showed that 42% of the Hostos student body came from households where the family income was less than \$4,000 and 75% of the students had family incomes of less than \$8,000. The same study showed that 96% of the students at Hostos were non-white. Another study showed that three times as many CUNY freshmen came from low income households as the national average for students at public colleges and a majority of CUNY students work during their first year, more than double the rate for college freshmen nationally. 56% of CUNY students are self-supporting, 23% are supporting children and over 60% are women.

Hostos was born from the radical mass movement for open admissions that reshaped CUNY in 1969. Before open

admissions, CUNY had an almost totally white working class student body. With support from the community, the few Black and Puerto Rican students at the City College campus in Harlem staged a strike for open admissions. The administration caved in, and opened up CUNY to all NYC high school graduates. Overnight, CUNY's enrollment skyrocketed, the majority of CUNY students were people of color, and CUNY developed much closer links with community-based activists and institutions throughout New York. New campuses opened with close links to impoverished neighborhoods: Medgar Evers College in Brooklyn (named after the civil rights leader), Hostos (named after Eugenio Maria de Hostos, a 19th Century Puerto Rican anti-colonialist and educator) and York College.

While not able to stop open admissions in 1969, conservative forces put forward quiet criticisms to lay the groundwork for a later attack. Sure enough, the current attack echoes the same themes that were floated nearly thirty years ago. One of the first criticisms of open admissions, before it even began, claimed that the "educational standards" of CUNY would be compromised by allowing in all high school graduates. These criticisms were not really about "educational standards" but were about trying to keep Black, Puerto Rican and other students of color out. The supporters of open admissions were the ones truly concerned about raising the educational standards for all poor people in New York City by giving everybody a chance at college. One way they did this was to implement an extensive system of remedial classes.

## THE ATTACK ON REMEDIAL CLASSES AND COMMUNITY COLLEGES

This spring, both Mayor Giuliani and CUNY's Board of Trustees (and CUNY Chancellor W. Ann Reynolds) made public attacks on CUNY's community colleges, focusing on the 30-year-old theme of "educational standards." In March, Mayor Giuliani accused CUNY's six community colleges of "an inability to educate young people," and said it was "a disaster" and "absolutely pathetic" that only 5% of their students graduate in two years.

Giuliani purposefully ignores that community colleges exist precisely to educate

students who are immigrants, high school dropouts, single mothers and older students, students with full-time jobs and children to support. It is not remarkable or bad that students take longer than two years to finish. Most attend school only part-time. And in fact at the Borough of Manhattan Community College (another CUNY campus), 20% of its students graduate in five years, which is higher than the national rate of 17% at community colleges. Additionally, many students who don't graduate from community colleges transfer to a 4-year college and finish there.

Anne Paolucci (whom Gov. Pataki recently appointed as Chair of CUNY's Board of Trustees), and Board Vice Chair Herman Badillo have led the attack on Hostos and on CUNY from within. Badillo was involved in creating Hostos in 1969 as a bilingual community-based institution. Now, he is leading the charge on Hostos. Badillo has pushed Giuliani and Pataki's white supremacist and capitalist agenda through in a way they would not have been able to do.

Gov. Pataki and Mayor Giuliani, both Republicans, have packed the board with people who are opposed to CUNY's mission of educating the poor people of New York City, and who intend to end that mission by dismantling open admissions. Badillo advocates ending open admissions by using an entrance exam for all incoming students, and turning away "unqualified" applicants. He and Paolucci also want to completely close some of CUNY's community colleges. Once they got a majority on the board who support their agenda, Badillo joyfully stated, "I always wanted to do this before, but couldn't." The ongoing attacks on remedial courses, community colleges, and Hostos students most specifically, are a milestone in the most serious attempt yet to end open admissions.

## A CYNICAL AND RACIST ATTACK

Giuliani, Pataki, and now former-Chancellor Ann Reynolds have repeatedly condemned and repressed students (and sympathetic administrators) protesting cuts to CUNY's budget. Giuliani's cops attacked the 1995 student demonstration against the



Hostos students walk in their graduation ceremony June 1, despite attempts to block them.

(Continued to page 21)



# Don't Talk, Work Harder... NeoLiberalism 101 at Nike

By REBECCA

"Don't Talk, Work Harder." That's the Indonesian translation of Nike's slogan "Just Do It" that appears on the walls of the factories that produce Nike shoes. Since at least 1996, when Cicih Sukaesih toured the US to talk about the Indonesian workers' struggles with Nike corporation, Americans have known that Nike is one of the most savage multinationals around. Nike paid the Indonesian military police to crush a union struggle in 1995. Union organizers from Nike plants have been killed for trying to organize unions. Even workers who aren't in direct confrontation with the plant are abused. Nike managers are taught to say things like "move you stupid bitch," and there are numerous reports of sexual harassment and battery of the teen-age girls who make up the majority of Nike's "indirect employees" in Indonesia and Asia.



Nike's corporate strategy of investing the majority of its funds in marketing and advertising with a very small sum dedicated to manufacture is typical of the new face of capitalism in an "information" society—it's got a new face but the same ass—exploitation! Neoliberal reforms in national governments allow Nike to minimize expenses by holding and moving factories and plants from country to country in a quest for cheaper labor and less hassle from any state regulations mandating basic workers' rights. Such labor laws were the result of years of struggle by workers—and the lasting impact of these struggles is what neoliberalism is destroying as it restructures nation states to allow corporations greater flexibility. Nike subcontracts its shoe manufacture to factories in Vietnam, China, and Indonesia, where workers are paid under \$2 per day to make shoes that Nike will later sell to US kids for \$120 per pair. The image of Nike in the US is one of corporate responsibility, Black American pride, feminism, and anti-racism. The reality in their factories is that Nike moves where the labor is cheapest, has little relationship to its employees, and blames third world cultures for the shocking record of abuse that has been uncovered on the Nike factory floor.

The *New York Times* and other major media exposed an atrocious episode in one of Nike's factories in Vietnam, where 12 women had to be hospitalized after they were ordered to run laps around the factory for their failure to show up to work in "regulation shoes." In response Nike sent ex-mayor of Atlanta and Carter administration envoy to the UN, Andrew Young, on a tour of its plants in Oregon, Indonesia, China and Vietnam. Young, who was chosen and paid by Nike for this venture, came back with clean bill of health for the company. Young was only paid off by Nike, but his report defends neoliberalism as a whole and apologizes for multinational corporatism. Specifically, Young did not support the demands of international human rights organizations, labor organizations and Non Governmental Organizations which demand that Nike:

1. Allow truly independent monitoring of their factories
2. Pay a living wage
3. Respect the right of workers to form independent unions.

Young and others who support the "free trade" policies furthered by NAFTA and

GATT argue that Americans can't understand what a living wage is in a developing country and insist that the growth of multinationals in the third world aids in the building of democracy. In fact the growth of Taiwanese- and Korean-run factories in China, Indonesia and elsewhere have brought in military discipline and authoritarianism, not democracy. When Indonesian workers organized, Nike moved to Vietnam. If you can say that bringing in savage corporations that force people into union organizing for sheer survival is a way of exporting democracy, maybe Nike and neoliberals are right.

## JUST DON'T DO A LIVING WAGE

The new report on Nike completely fails to deal with the demand for a living wage, arguing that Americans don't understand the reality of wages in the global market. It

Committee (SNCC) and others, did in fact do exactly this. In the 1960s civil rights groups monitored and reported on illegal practices of Southern counties, towns, and states. During voter registration drives, SNCC volunteers and organizers photographed and provided written documentation of numerous violations of federal law. They later published these reports—testimonies of attempts to register to vote which ended in beatings, photographs of people being turned away from courthouses, and third party witness accounts of these events. These were circulated on television news, reported to federal authorities, and published in numerous books, films, and a traveling photography exhibition. This was crucial to building support for the southern Civil Rights movement among Americans in the northern US. Civil Rights activists also used this documentation as the basis for several federal hearings and federal lawsuits brought against southern states and police departments. However, now that Andrew Young is no longer part of this kind of human rights movement, he is using his reputation as a human rights ally to turn on those with whom he once identified and struggled just 30 years ago. Just how much did Nike pay for Young's good conscience?

## THOSE ASIAN GIRLS SURE LOOK YOUNG!

In one especially obnoxious passage, Young's report on Nike avoids the issue of child-labor in Nike plants by claiming that "Asian women, especially Vietnamese women" look young by American standards. Young asked some "young looking girls" for age identification, then dismissed the possibility that these young women might have used false ID to get jobs or to pass inspection. One report recently showed 11-year-old Pakistani children sewing soccer balls in a Nike plant there. So just how young did these Asian women look?

## LABOR UNIONS UNRECOGNIZED AND REPRESSED

The report skirts Nike's treatment of union organizers and organizing attempts by claiming that the factories exist in countries

argue that it's not really Nike who runs these factories, but rather a crew of middle-management barbarians from third world countries. This contradicts Young's and Nike's contention that Nike's factories are "good" and are "leaders" in management style. Their account sounds a lot like old plantation owners' that it was not they, but African-American slave-drivers or white-peasant overseers that were the problem out in the cotton fields.

## DON'T TREAD ON NIKE!

The report argues that it is unfair to expect Nike to do what other companies don't. It says that changes can't happen on a company-by-company basis, but must be enforced by international or national laws. However, neoliberal reforms are making these kinds of laws more difficult to write and enforce. More importantly, almost all the significant changes in American labor practice came as a result of struggles between workers and their specific bosses or industries. Changes made from below don't happen very often on a global level, but emerge out of local struggles. The attention that we pay to Nike now is not because of the power of international law, but because labor unions in Indonesia and Vietnam have successfully targeted Nike, conducted strikes, and started organizing drives. They are getting word out to the international community through human rights organizations and the media. We shouldn't hold our breath for governments or companies to change their policies out of fairness, but should support the workers and human rights organizations who continue to demand that Nike recognize their right to unionize, pay a living wage, and submit to independent monitoring of their factories. While boycotting Nike will not stop global capitalism in its tracks, it is important that we act in solidarity with Nike workers in Vietnam and China who are currently struggling against one of the worst offenders on the map. We need to reject Andrew Young's report on Nike and insist that we know better. Support and organize public education campaigns in your school and community that reveal the truth behind the advertising of consumer

*Nike paid the Indonesian military police to crush a union struggle in 1995. Union organizers from Nike plants have been killed for trying to organize unions.*

without mature union movements and without a clear concept of "worker rights." Indonesia, China, and Vietnam, have long histories of peasant activism, revolutionary struggle and unionism that directly contradict such a bizarre claim. Of course it's US-based multi-national corporations like Nike who lack respect for workers' rights and labor struggles. They seek out places where wages are low and conditions poor in order to extract the greatest amount of labor value for the least cost in an international market. When he even acknowledges bad conditions, Young's report repeatedly shifts responsibility to the Korean and Taiwanese sub-contractors. Nike and Young attempt to

products produced by multinationals.

The Campaign for Labor Rights is encouraging people to leaflet and picket at stores selling Nike products and asks you to support the struggle of Vietnamese and Indonesian workers currently protesting Nike. While international solidarity actions such as this are important, we also need to develop and coordinate Nike workers' organizing across borders. Neo-liberalism forces us to develop a new style of international organizing that goes beyond just organizing actions in solidarity with overseas struggles. Do what you can to get the word out to combat the massive media scam Nike runs. No blood for sneakers!★





# ARA EVERYWHERE

## Anti-Racist ACTION Reports

### Cops Attack Anti-Duke Protest in Cleveland

On May 18 in Cleveland, Ohio, a small crowd of anti-racists protesting a speech by neo-Nazi politician David Duke were brutally attacked by police.

Four protesters were arrested and charged with felonies, held in jail for five days on \$100,000 bond (which was finally reduced). Two of those arrested were severely beaten. Later all the defendants' charges were reduced to misdemeanors in exchange for guilty pleas and a promise from those injured not to press charges against the city of Cleveland.

The protest had been called on short notice to attempt to interfere with David Duke's speech. About fifty protesters showed up, including members and supporters of Anti-Racist Action Network, Refuse & Resist, and the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) / National Women's Rights Organizing Committee (NWROC).

David Duke, the ex-Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) and former Louisiana state representative, has been a leader in the effort to bring fascist politics into the mainstream. His campaigns for Governor and for US Senate in the early 1990s won tens of thousands of votes, and prompted Pat Buchanan's entrance into electoral politics.

Duke's speech in Cleveland was part of a tour organized by the National Alliance, a

highly sophisticated and organized fascist organization. Their cell in Cleveland had previously organized a major white power concert in conjunction with Resistance Records that drew over 600 nazi boneheads. The David Duke event brought out 200 mainly middle-class racists.

The demonstration in Cleveland holds several important lessons for Anti-Racist Action activists:

(1) We need to go into these situations with some kind of goals and tactical plan to carry them out.

(2) We must be physically self-reliant. Not only should we not expect the police to protect us from the Nazis, or just protect the Nazis from us. We can expect more physical assaults from the cops. A strong, militant anti-racist / anti-fascist movement is a threat to the system. The police understand this and act accordingly. We should too.

(3) It is not easy to win a brawl with the boys in blue. We should pick our battles carefully and avoid baiting the police when we are unable to back it up. Just be smart.

The activists arrested were three members of Refuse & Resist and one member of Detroit Anti-Racist Action. To help with legal fees for the ARA activist, send money to Columbus ARA with a

### Oper. Rescue Invades Ohio



Pro-choice activists in Dayton, Ohio defend clinics from Operation Rescue attacks.

BY LAURA SCHERE (FROM BARF REPORTS)

The Anti-Racist Action Network joined Refuse and Resist and Bisexual and Radical Feminists (BARF) in a call to counter a major anti-abortion assault by the Christian right-wing July 13-19 in the Dayton, Ohio area. Reproductive freedom activists shadowed 300 right-wing militants as they attempted to blockade clinics, harass women at clinics, and terrorize doctors during the week-long "Return to Truth" campaign.

Operation Rescue National mobilized its heavy-hitters including congress-hopeful Randall Terry, telegenic Flip Benham, and Midwest Catholic Pro-Life Action Ministries' Joe Scheidler for the events. The compulsory pregnancy advocates also turned out their youth for frequent rallies. They targeted abortion providers in the area including Doctor Martin Haskell, who helped developed the later-term abortion D&X procedure and testified in Congress against attempts to ban it.

Turnout by ARA locals was poor, lending more weight to feminist critiques of the network; ARA seems to favor the more romantic and macho fight against neo-Nazis over countering the right-wing assault on women. Antioch College students, on the other hand, turned out 50 people (about half the summer student population) for the counter-mobilization. Some of them formed a contingent of Satanists for Life, pleading "Don't abort your

baby, it might be the anti-Christ!"

Antis advocated for compulsory pregnancy outside clinics in Cincinnati, Kettering and Dayton where they brazenly trespassed and at one point impersonated a patient and escort team as a tactic to approach the clinic. Police took a mostly hands-off approach, allowing antis to block entrances more than once for hours at a time, and even let them picnic on a clinic lawn. The roving band of crazies also bussed to Dr. Ehgerman's house; tacked up wanted posters for this colleague of Dr. Haskell similar to those posted for other providers who were later shot. Cops for Christ were in attendance at the week's festivities, and the pastor at the hosting Christ Life Sanctuary, Fred Wilson, is a former cop himself.

Reproductive freedom activists directed an explicit message of appreciation toward abortion providers. Clinic workers supported the counter-demonstrations and kept the clinics operating throughout the week; all patients were seen.

While outnumbered consistently throughout the week, dedicated reproductive freedom activists taunted the antis at their every event and made sure to take good notes.

On Tuesday, July 22, at approximately 3 a.m., a clinic in Tuscaloosa, Alabama was torched, causing \$100-150,000 in damages. Snoops for our side noted a large contingent from Alabama at Dayton, including a church van.★

### Queers, Feminists Say Close Australian Nazi Bookshop

Gays, lesbians, feminists and drag queens were prominent amongst the hundred-strong crowd that demonstrated against the Nazi bookshop, run by National Action, in the Melbourne suburb of Fawkner on July 12. The demonstration, the fourth so far this year called by the Campaign Against the Nazis (CAN), marched through the streets of Fawkner chanting anti-Nazi slogans.

A group called Queer Action, which is part of the CAN played a big role in the protest. They carried anti-fascist placards

decorated with bright pink triangles.

Unionists, anarchists and others addressed the crowd. One of the most powerful speakers was Ena Burstin, who spoke from the Jewish Lesbian Group as a Jewish woman, a lesbian and a person with a disability. Ena highlighted how Nazi ideology targets all parts of her. She called for unity and determination in the face of the Nazi menace.★

To endorse the campaign or donate to Campaign Against the Nazis write to PO Box 798 Brunswick Lower 3056 E-mail: fsprwaus@ozemail.com.au

## ARA NETWORK CHAPTERS

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Houston ARA  
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Katy, TX 77456

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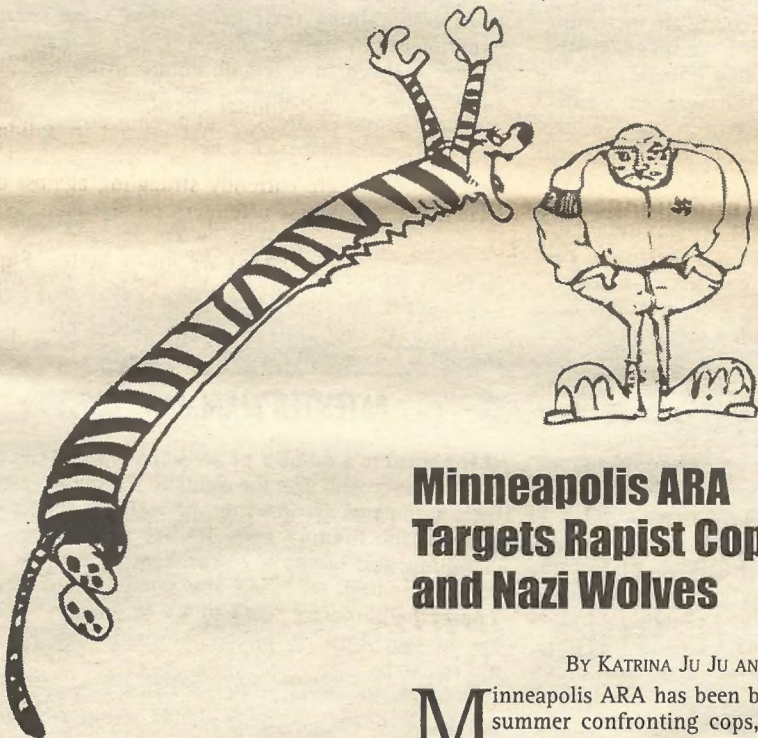
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PO Box 407  
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Philadelphia ARA  
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Philadelphia, PA 19104  
215-569-2477 #8

Toronto ARA  
P.O. Box 291, Station B  
Toronto, ON M5T 2T2  
416-631-8835

For a complete listing of more than thirty ARA groups contact the Columbus ARA chapter★



### Minneapolis ARA Targets Rapist Cops and Nazi Wolves

BY KATRINA JU JU AND DAN Q

Minneapolis ARA has been busy this summer confronting cops, exposing Nazis and helping build ARA chapters in our region. Police presence has been stepped-up this summer; cops have been given increased funding and "public" approval to carry out violence and harassment of youth and people of color. We have continued doing Copwatch downtown and have been working on strategies to better combat the problem.

Last week when two Richfield (a suburb of Minneapolis) cops were accused of raping a woman, ARA organized a demonstration at the Richfield police station to demand the release of the rapists' names and an external investigation during which the cops under suspicion would not get paid.

On May 24 ARA exposed Jason Zinn, executive director of Wolf Pack, a Nazi propaganda organization and the editor of Blood & Honor, a white power magazine that he was distributing from his house! We went door-to-door in his neighborhood and flared at area high schools for a confrontational demonstration on his front lawn which forced them to sell their house and move.

Minneapolis ARA organized a Hip Hop and Punk show in Rochester, MN to help build an anti-racist ethic in the youth scene and their newly-formed ARA Chapter. With the Minneapolis Hip Hop crew the Headshots and Rochester's Charlie Brown's Cousin performing, the show helped make a name and build support for ARA.★

### Nordic Fest Foes Form New ARA

ARA activists from Columbus, Chicago, Antioch, Detroit, and Lansing joined anti-racists in northern Michigan to counter a neo-Nazi white power music festival called Nordic Fest.

People had been unable to find the exact location of the Nazi-fest, which ended up taking place on private farm land well outside of town, so ARA folks gathered at the Unity Fest in downtown Traverse City to distribute literature and recruit kids for a new Traverse City ARA. But the liberals who dominated the "Hate Free T.C." coalition that sponsored the Unity Fest didn't like Detroit and Columbus ARA's copwatch literature or all the youth hanging around the literature table. They actually kicked us out. Fuck 'em.

Traverse City ARA is up & running and they'll be busy, cuz the racist right is moving into northern Michigan big time. Word is that the maniacal Church of the Creator is planning on opening a compound up that way.★

Traverse City ARA  
PO Box 1715  
T.C., MI 49685





# The Capitalist Infesto

## Biotechnology & the New World Order

By MITCHEL COHEN

This is the second of a series of articles on the emerging biotechnologies, and resistance to them. In the last issue of *Love & Rage*, Mitchel focused on genetically-engineered Bovine Growth Hormone, manufactured by Monsanto.

A specter is haunting the planet—the specter of neoliberalism. “Privatization,” “Globalization,” “the Debt Crisis,” “the Free Market,” “Export Zones,” “Free Trade Zones,” “Empowerment Zones,” “Enterprise Zones,” “New Enclosures,” “Structural Adjustment,” “Development,” “Progress,” “New World Order,” “GATT,” “World Trade Organization,” “NAFTA”—synonyms all for today’s Primitive Accumulation of capital.

Capitalism has more innocent-sounding names for exploitation than Eskimos have for snow. Its long knife again screams at our throats. Its icy winter blade ransacks the globe, shrieking (in Diane DiPrima’s words): “Get your cut throat off my knife!”

Listen closely to the language of the New World Order: “property rights,” “human rights for corporations,” “freedom of entrepreneurial spirit”—the “freedom,” that is, to exploit. Clearcutting forests becomes a “thinning sale.” Magnificent giant redwoods, the oldest living beings on the planet, some 1,000 years old, are merely “standing inventory.” Beautiful mountain vistas are considered “view sheds”; the last few clumps of trees along the highway en route to the mall, “scenic corridors.” Carting the strip-mined carcasses off the mountain is portrayed as “sanitizing a unit.” Industry casts the technology required to do all that in the dubious forge of “Progress.” Behind it all: the wrath of GOD—Grow Or Die.

In just the last 40 years, fully one half of the world’s forests have been cut down. Nevertheless, corporations boldly assert their “natural right” to chop down the rest. Not to worry; new genetic engineering techniques will scoop up the DNA from every species endangered by the market, preserving it in a lab somewhere and to devise “useful” products from it.

### PRIVATIZING THE GENETIC CODE

Since the late 1980s, scientists working under the aegis of the Human Genome Diversity Project have been collecting genetic materials from the world’s indigenous human populations “before they disappear.” Thanks to funding by the

or to making contributions that will improve the human condition,” Shand continues, “but they were outraged that the US government would seek to monopolize and profit from bio-pirated genes.” Isidro Acosta, president of the Guaymi General Congress, says, “I never imagined people would patent plants and animals. It’s fundamentally immoral, contrary to the Guaymi view of nature, and our place in it. To patent human material ... to take human DNA and patent its products ... that violates the integrity of life itself, and our deepest sense of morality.”

As a result of protests by the Guaymi Congress and other indigenous peoples’ organizations, as well as the European Parliament, the US government silently withdrew its patent claim. But in January 1994, two more patent applications, again in the name of the US government, were filed in Europe. This time, the cell lines came from citizens of the Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea. The cell lines are now on deposit at the American Type Culture Collection in Washington, DC.

Private ownership of human biological materials raises many profound social, ethical and political issues,” Shand writes. “Some have dubbed the patenting of human cell lines of indigenous peoples a form of ‘bio-colonialism.’”

Who owns your DNA? You? Not for long. Although indigenous groups around the world claim that their DNA is theirs—not the US government’s, not the World Bank’s—courts are increasingly upholding claims by corporations who’ve stolen, synthesized or (com)modified nature, including human genes. In 1991, the US Patent and Trademark Office granted a patent for a naturally-occurring part of the human body—human bone marrow stem cells, the progenitors of all types of cells in the blood. The stem cells had not even been genetically altered in any visible way. An official of the Leukemia Society of America denounced the cross privatization: “It is really outlandish to believe you can patent a stem cell. Where do you draw the line? Can you patent a hand?” Human blood cells from the umbilical cord of a new born baby have already been “claimed” with a patent in the U.S. and in Europe. All the company owning the patent did, according to Greenpeace, was isolate the blood cells and deep freeze them. Yet the patent now allows them to charge anyone wanting to use them, even if it is for transplant or medical research. How long before reconfigured human beings are considered private property, the new slaves?

In October, 1992, Dr. Robert Stillman of George Washington University successfully cloned human embryos. The *NY Times* pointed out that Stillman’s work was “not a technical breakthrough” because it was “simply” the application of widely known animal cloning techniques to human embryos. Livestock embryos are, in fact, routinely cloned.

Smith Kline Beecham, a giant pharmaceutical company, has isolated a single gene which, the company says, plays a role in diseases ranging from cancer and arthritis to migraine and even obesity. But the company has not explained how the gene works in these diseases, how it interacts with environmental pressures, nor any concrete use for it. (In fact, underlying the whole

approach to genetic engineering is the problematic philosophy of reductionism—the idea that every living function can be “reduced” to an isolated, mechanical “cause,” in this case a gene.) In other words, they want to own the gene and all medical treatments that in the future may be derived from it, before any such treatments have been developed.

### “PHARMING” FOR DOLLARS

Once upon a time there was “Public Space.” It was so taken for granted there wasn’t even a word for it. That was before every tree had a universal price code sticker on it and every chromosome a patent. And people fought in every way possible to hold onto what was collectively theirs.

In the 18th century the emerging capitalist class in England expropriated communally-used public lands and legalized their privatization through subsequent legislation known as the Enclosure Acts—legalistic cover for what Karl Marx, whose earliest adult essays defended the right of peasants and workers to glean dead wood from Rhineland forests, termed primitive accumulation, that is, theft of collective property. By 1842, 85% of all prosecutions in the Rhineland, as in the rest of Europe, were for a new crime: “The theft of wood.”

How did the taking of dead wood for heat and cooking by peasants become a criminal offense, while corporations were increasingly freed to strip public lands—whole mountains!—of all the trees on it with impunity?

Pharmaceutical companies are privatizing our genes—all perfectly “legal.” We are awash in a wave of “new Enclosures”—the accelerated colonization of daily life, the conquest not only of the natural environment but of Nature within.

Beginning in 1980 when the US Supreme Court ruled (*Diamond v. Chakrabady*) that a General Electric microbiologist could legally patent a genetically-engineered microbe, legalization of bio-piracy has come fast and furious. In 1985, the US Patent and Trademark Office ruled that plants (previously protected only by plant breeders’ rights) could qualify under industrial patent laws; In 1987, the Patent Office began allowing “non-naturally occurring non-human multi-cellular living organisms, including animals” to

be patented and thus legally “owned” by the corporations recombining their genes. That same year, biotech experiments in Italy produced a half-human half-chimpanzee embryo in a female chimp using human sperm. Although he claimed that the embryo was killed “for ethical reasons,” Bruno Chiarelli, dean of anthropology at Florence University, said that such a new species could be used “for labor chores that are repetitious or disagreeable ... or as a reservoir for transplant organs.” In 1988, the “Oncomouse” (also known as the “DuPont mouse”), became the first patented animal. The patent was not awarded to the Harvard scientists who did the research and genetically programmed the mouse to develop cancer after a short time and to pass that trait along to its descendants, but to DuPont & Co., which funded the research.

### PATENTED MAMMARY GLANDS

This has led to a number of divisions in the “scientific community” over who gets the rights to scientists’ research. The legal arguments are growing increasingly complex; but, in general, the funding agencies are winning, and they’re clamping gag rules on researchers as well as the work they’re funding, wrecking any semblance of free inquiry among the purported “community of scholars” and hindering the shared use of “privately owned” organisms in medical research.

In 1992, the European Patent Office received an application to patent the mammary glands of mammals genetically engineered to produce various human proteins in breast milk. The application, jointly filed by Baylor College of Medicine and Grenada Biosciences of Texas, was carefully crafted to cover all female mammals, including humans. According to Brian Lucas, a British patent attorney representing Baylor College, “Someone, somewhere may decide that humans are patentable,” and the university labs want to maintain their “rights” in this patently-lucrative area. In 1993, in another precedent-setting decision, the Patent Office awarded patents for two kinds of animals: a rabbit model for AIDS, and nematodes (a kind of worm) that can be dehydrated for shipping purposes. Both life forms were

(Continued to page 18)



World Bank, indigenous peoples’ blood, saliva, and hair will be preserved forever, even as other World Bank projects wipe them out. New court rulings are making it possible for corporations to patent human DNA sequences and privatize “samples” now stored in gene banks.

The US government has already applied for patents on a virus derived from the cell line of a 26-year-old Guaymi Indian woman from Panama. A blood sample was taken from her by a National Institutes of Health researcher who subsequently “established” the cell line. According to Hope Shand, writing in *Multinational Monitor* (June 1994), “The DNA sample was of interest because some Guaymi carry a unique virus containing antibodies that could prove useful in AIDS and leukemia research.”

“The Guaymi Indians do not object to medical research

## Hey, Don't Insult My Food!

The following states currently have food slander laws, introduced by the biotech industry and other agribusiness agencies to stop animal rights activists, environmentalists, and consumer safety activists from complaining about such things as inhumane treatment of farm animals and the dangers of pesticides and herbicides, unsustainable farming practices and genetically-engineered foods: Alabama, Arizona, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Louisiana, Mississippi, Oklahoma, South Dakota and Texas. Under these food slander laws, farmers, chemical companies and other agricultural producers can sue to recover damages from anyone who criticizes a food or agricultural product without “scientific basis.” So watch it, buddy! Dat’s my broccoli yer tawkin’ about.★



# Cascadia Rising!

BY ANNE ARCKY

As is true with most extractive industries on our planet, the timber Mafia of the Pacific Northwest has got politicians wrapped around its finger. In every NW state, at least one, if not all federal Congresspeople is busy introducing and supporting legislation aimed at increasing corporate timber profits. As the influence of private industry seeps ever deeper into the political arena, the scraps of forest left unmolested seem like rare and precious gems.

After colonizing the wild lands of the east at the turn of the century, companies began expanding their operations to the lush old growth forests of Western Oregon, Washington and California. By the '60s and '70s, clear-cut logging was the norm all over the Northwest, imperiling countless species that thrive on mature forests. As the last ancient trees on private landholdings fall, timber companies have already converted their lands into tree plantations to feed highly mechanized paper mills.

The last fragments of native forest of the region are mostly on National Forest and some Bureau of Land Management lands. These remote, often unroaded places lie sprawled across the corporate chopping block, subject to a complex social war waged on many fronts.

On one front stands industry, intent on profiting at any cost. The politicians who support their goals often attended the same colleges as industry leaders, sit on their boards of directors, and welcome industrialists' substantial contributions for re-election. Taking their place in the "old boy network" are the agency decisionmakers of the US Forest Service, US Fish and Wildlife, and State Departments of Forestry—with carefully selected elites calling the shots. These are the people who enable corporations to destroy crucial imperiled species habitats, build roads that wash out year after year, and pillage protected places under various legal exemptions from environmental law, in spite of citizen protest.

## TIMBER PIMPS PASS LAME LAW

Such was the case in July 1995, when Clinton signed an Omnibus Budget Bill providing relief to families of the Oklahoma City bombing victims that contained the infamous Salvage Logging Rider. Designed by one of the biggest timber pimps in history, Senator Slade Gorton (R-WA), this released countless public lands to logging with no environmental reviews, appeals, litigation or citizen input, essentially voiding thirty years of regulations.

Many areas that had previously been off limits for Spotted Owl and Marbled Murrelet protections (both endangered species), were released under the rider. Lawyers argued that allowing logging in these sales violated the Endangered Species Act, but a Federal judge ruled that the Salvage Rider now takes precedence. A few months later, a Bill submitted to overturn the rider lost by a handful of votes. Every mainstream environmental group opposed the Rider, but industry's influence won out.

For one year, salvage sales were auctioned off one by one, some under the guise of thinning burned areas, other of preventing future fires, disease or insect infestation, and others for general "health maintenance." The timber industry PR network concocted an elaborate pseudo-scientific claim that thinning or "salvaging" will help reduce future disease and fire risks to both burned and green forests.

They asserted that in old growth forests, trees that were at risk of "death" (which is any tree) should be salvaged because a tree fallen on the ground poses a risk of disease and insect infestation (also known as rot). Together, politicians and industry reps managed to convince quite a bit of the public and the Congress that there is indeed a "forest health crisis." Big timber proved their PR machine was well worth the money.

## CORP. HANDS OFF PUBLIC LANDS!

The struggle over the uses of public lands in the region is marked by a dramatic dichotomy.

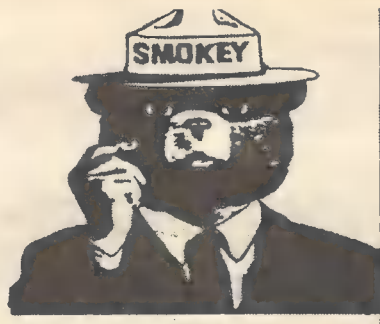
Some activists, homesteaders and even politicians believe National Forests should be totally off limits to private enterprise. The Forest Service stands behind the "Multiple Use" policy, under which extractive industries coexist with recreation and wildlife. So when the Forest Service designs a timber sale, they claim to balance the rights of corporations and the supposed demand for housing with concern for water quality and wildlife. That means cows can graze on National Forests, even if it poses a harm to salmon, because the rancher has rights too—after all, it is public land. The Forest Service is actually a part of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, which says a lot about the goals of the agency.

Historically, these public lands have been treated as a wartime resource—farms for a booming (over)developed world. As ecological consciousness (re)emerges in society, some of us are asserting that public lands should be held in common for all beings to share. Ecology shows us that an economic entity that exists only to extract has no place in an interlocking web of life.

When all species coexist, each fulfilling roles on which others depend, an ecosystem will flourish. The more diversity in types and ages of life within the same system, the more mature and healthy that place will be. Certain species are known as "indicators" of that system's health—the Spotted Owl and Marbled Murrelet thrive, if not depend, on mature forests. Salmon reproduction depends on healthy waterways, free of siltation and direct sun.

Industry says there are more trees in the forest than ever before, and it's not necessarily a lie. But it's quality, not quantity that matters. When thousands of one species of tree are planted at the same time in rows it's called "even-age monocultural management." It transforms native biodiversity into an easily managed, easily harvested, internal resource colony.

OUR  
APPEARANCE  
OF  
CAREFUL  
MANAGEMENT



Industrial forestry has made logging a dying profession. But instead of choosing a path of regionally-based, sustained yield "harvest," many timber-dependent communities have adopted a sort of "hear no evil, see no evil" attitude toward the companies. While some towns have replaced the depressed timber economy with tourism, recreation and universities, others still harbor one big mill (often a multinational) smack dab in the middle of town, with enough jobs to keep folks content for now. Still others vigilantly defend their bosses' right to blaze a path of destruction regardless of the long-term effects. These hometown boys seem to cling to a romantic, often religious fanaticism whereby their profession represents tradition, family and decency. This kind of emotional investment can produce extremely heated confrontations when matched by the passion of forest defenders, as we've seen recently in the Siskiyou Mountains of Southwest Oregon.

The Siskiyou National Forest has been a center of eco-resistance off and on since the early '80s, when a fledgling Earth First! grouping experimented with now-commonplace tactics like bulldozer lockdowns and tree sits, to save a vital roadless area from fragmentation. Long sought after for their prime ponderosa/sugar pine forests, the Siskiyou mountains contain some of the wildest and most diverse native habitat in the bioregion. Steep slopes and harsh winters have left so much of the range inaccessible to roads and machinery that whole mountain sides of ancient forest still stand. It's these kinds of places that were targeted by the salvage rider.



Activist faces off with the Forest Service at China Left timber sale in Southern Oregon.

Boise Cascade waited out years of legal controversy and public protest over the Sugarloaf timber sale, until it was finally freed from litigation by the salvage rider, and logged in the spring of 1996. The China Left timber sale, also in the Siskiyou NF, has

and raw fear and hatred takes over. It's strange to feel relieved when the cops show up to a scene like this.

Other backwoods actions we take include "cat and mouse," a spontaneous guerrilla-style tactic used to cause enough

# Forest Defense in the Pacific Northwest

met the same fate, despite the disapproval of the local head ranger. But the real spit in the face came this past May when a surprise endangered species listing for the coho salmon failed to halt the China Left sale. Instead, Rough and Ready lumber company was awarded an "incidental take" permit to log, which simply means that the agency (in this case, US Fish and Wildlife) allows the company to "take" the species—that extinction is "incidental."

## ACTION: THE ANTIDOTE FOR DESPAIR

For us radicals on the frontlines of both the legal war and the ground war, this move of aggression has empowered us to deepen our critique and broaden our political message. Grassroots forest protection groups are posing deeper questions about property ownership, corporate welfare, and habitat restoration, and advocating policies like "End logging on public lands." In the woods, we've turned up the volume of our direct action tactics to coincide with surges of public sentiment. When urban liberals come out to the logging road to commit "Gandhian" civil disobedience, forest defenders are often in the background, plotting elaborate pre-dawn blockades.

In the early '80s, when the issue of ancient forests was newer to the public, a

distraction in the cutting areas that the loggers give up and go home. We've discovered that many loggers will go further than we thought to put peoples' lives at risk, using a chainsaw as a tool of intimidation. In very rural areas like the Siskiyou, it's possible to outnumber cops in the woods, and so effectively dodge them all day while trying to physically intervene between chainsaws and trees.

Tree sitting is probably the most labor-intensive but emotionally rewarding tactic we've used. In the fall of 1996, an affinity group erected a 10-12 person tree "village" in the canopy of the Headwaters redwood forest in Northern California. For 21 days, sitters rotated in and out of the platforms, hammocks and cargo net to protect a drainage called Owl Creek. A stealthy ground support crew dodged camouflaged county cops to resupply the villagers, whose gear was confiscated several times by a company tree climber. Many important tactical lessons were sorely learned in the tree village, but the sensation of creating such an obstacle created a bond that activists carry even now.

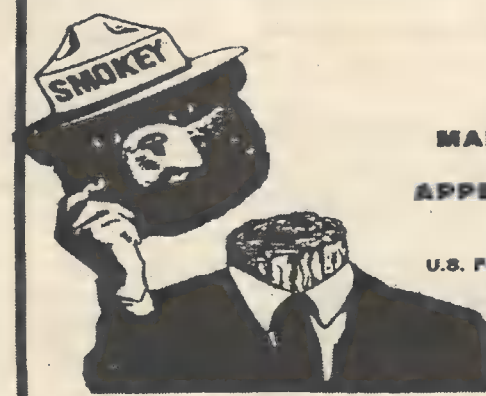
All of these tactics have for the most part been figured out by local authorities. They have generators to power diamond-bladed saws and grinders to cut us out of lockdowns. To a certain degree, we accept that

this type of direct action is symbolic, and we purposely put ourselves into arrest situations. The goals of this symbolic direct action are twofold: to slow operations and cost the company money, and to get the mainstream media to cover the issue.

Unfortunately, it's usually the county sheriffs who spend the money to remove

IS REALLY  
ONLY  
THE  
CAREFUL  
MANAGEMENT  
OF  
APPEARANCES.

U.S. FOREST SERVICE:  
DEFORRESTATION  
IN DISGUISE.



sign-holding logging road action could get media, and was considered confrontational, earning Earth First! its earliest fame. These days, it takes more confrontation to get media, and the Forest Service is much more aware of our tactics.

The preferred method of halting operations is stopping the machines before they even get to the forest by blockading logging roads. We've sat thirty feet above the road in three-legged "tripods," and locked our necks with kryptonite bike locks or our arms through steel "lockboxes" to closed logging gates. We've "locked down" to the underside of junked cars in the middle of the road, and we've even stopped, boarded and locked down to log trucks carrying old growth trees out of timber sales. Once a logging operation is underway, we might enter the timber sale area at night and lock down to bulldozers. This is where tactics take a huge leap in offensiveness. A worker's machine is his sacred cow. We've seen tempers flare so high that logic disappears

us from lockdowns, while the loggers stand around their trucks sneering at us, waiting for the road to be cleared. This admittedly sets up a dynamic that we continuously struggle with. We try to communicate, with varying levels of success, and to train each other in methods of defusing conflict. Luckily only a few mild physical conflicts have occurred in many years.

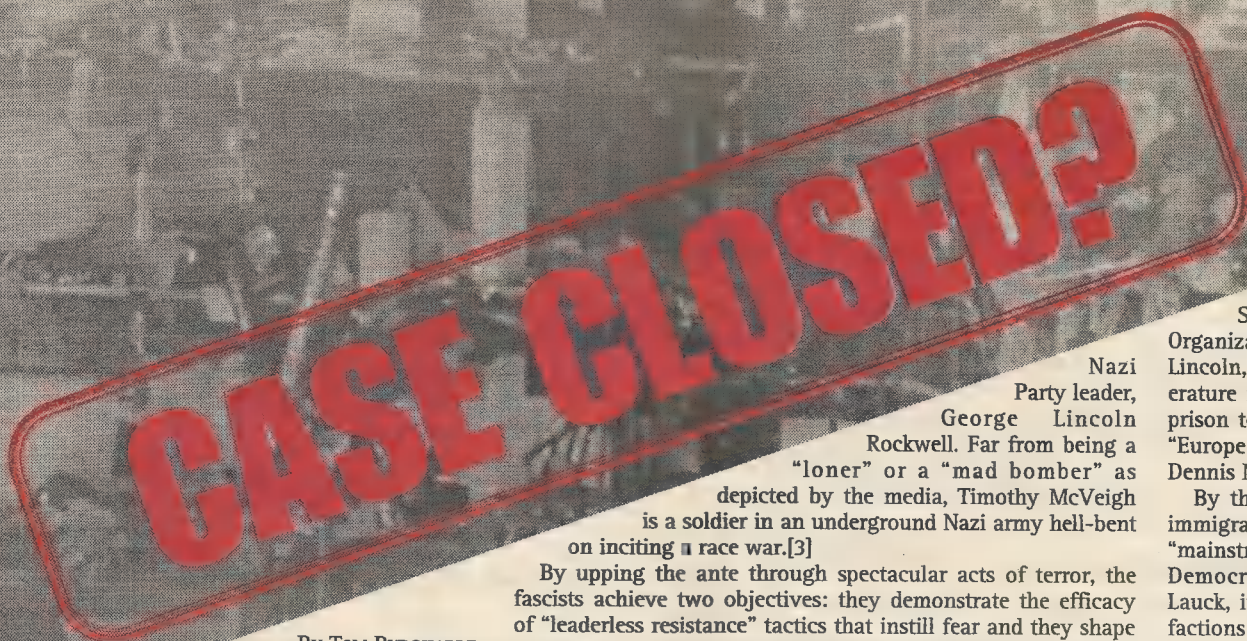
There is no question in the mind of anyone who's stood at the point of destruction that there is a war being waged on the earth, and when we attempt to disrupt or impede operations, whether we like it or not, we are engaging in battle. Our philosophies, to varying degrees, revolve around nonviolence. In our methods of organization, our political alliances, and in our lifestyles, we strive to reflect our visions, and that is exactly what sets us apart from the mainstream environmental movement.

The clearest example of this vision was

(Continued to page 19)



# Fascist Networks & The Ok



BY TOM BURGHARDT,  
ANTIFA INFO-BULLETIN

Timothy McVeigh's conviction in a Denver courtroom for the 1995 bombing of the Murrah federal building in Oklahoma City is touted by liberals and media pundits as a "blow" against the far-right. But the decision by the FBI and Justice Department to limit their investigation and subsequent prosecution to "decorated" Gulf War vet McVeigh and army buddy, Terry Nichols, has raised serious doubts and provoked much speculation.

Perhaps some of the lingering questions swirling around the case will be answered by an Oklahoma grand jury that convened in mid-July. Though state officials had tried to block the probe, they were forced to impanel a grand jury after more than 10,000 Oklahoma residents signed a petition demanding one. The petition was organized by Glen Wilburn, who lost two grandsons in the blast, and who died from cancer July 15, and Republican state legislator Charles Key. Many believe there was a wider conspiracy to bomb the federal building; they are not alone in their suspicions.

One of the more intriguing scenarios challenging the "official" version of events alleges that internationally-connected fascists were involved in the plot. According to this reading, they blew up the Murrah building as an act of revenge for the execution of Richard Snell, a neo-Nazi "soldier" in the Covenant, Sword and Arm of the Lord (CSA). During the 1980s, the CSA collaborated with The Order, a terrorist army of Aryan Nations, CSA and National Alliance supporters.[1] A retired FBI agent who put Snell behind bars for a racially-motivated double homicide, believes the killer could have helped plan the attack from death row.[2]

None of this should surprise anyone, since mass-murderer Timothy McVeigh is a stone-cold fascist. When arrested by Oklahoma police, neo-Nazi literature was found in his car, including *The Turner Diaries*, a pulp "novel" by National Alliance "fuhrer" William Pierce. Herr Pierce's racist diatribe is believed to have served as an ideological "blueprint" for the bombing.

According to some reports, McVeigh even joined the Ku Klux Klan in Harrison, Arkansas in 1992. Taking his cue from The Order, McVeigh stole a gun collection from an Arkansas man and sold it to finance the attack. As a calling card, he left behind a copy of *White Power*, written by the late American



Nazi Party leader, George Lincoln Rockwell. Far from being a "loner" or a "mad bomber" as depicted by the media, Timothy McVeigh is a soldier in an underground Nazi army hell-bent on inciting a race war.[3]

By upping the ante through spectacular acts of terror, the fascists achieve two objectives: they demonstrate the efficacy of "leaderless resistance" tactics that instill fear and they shape the social climate necessary for a "strategy of tension" to succeed—increased state repression across the board. Oklahoma City: a recruitment poster for neo-fascism's armed wing.

If this scenario is plausible it shifts "ground zero" from Waco to Elohim City, from the biblical Book of Revelations to *The*

*Turner Diaries*, from the Branch Davidians to the Aryan Nations and beyond. And when an informant for the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) claims a White Aryan Resistance (WAR) leader and a "well-connected" German discussed blowing up the Murrah building months before McVeigh's arrest, more plot lines scar the landscape than wreckage in the wake of a Texas twister! Who then, are the "others unknown" named in the original federal indictment?

## DO YOU WORK FOR THE GOVERNMENT?

For nearly four years, a former Bundeswehr officer with intelligence links, Andreas Strassmeir, was chief of security at a white supremacist commune, Elohim City (EC). Strassmeir is the son of Helmut Kohl's former chief of staff, Guenter Strassmeir, the architect of Germany's annexation of the German Democratic Republic. His assignment with the Panzer Grenadiers (a German army division whose units were SS units during WWII) was to detect infiltration by Warsaw Pact agents and then feed them disinformation.[4] Depending on one's interpretation of the Strassmeir "connection," he may be an international link to the conspiracy or an intelligence "asset" with knowledge of the plot.

This much however, is known: Strassmeir taught weaponry and "special warfare tactics" at EC's "covenant community" of rural fascists. When questioned by reporters why he chose to live among Volk who believe Jews are "the spawn of Satan" and that blacks and other people of color are "pre-Adamic mud people," Strassmeir glibly replied, "I was attracted to the alternative lifestyle." [5]

Strassmeir denies any involvement in the bombing and claims to have met McVeigh only once, at a 1994 Tulsa gun show, where he sold the killer a US Navy combat knife and a sheath. But just days before the deadly blast, McVeigh, or someone using his telephone credit card, placed a call to Elohim City. Residents at the compound insist McVeigh was looking for "Andy"—Strassmeir. The date of the call is crucial, April 5; the day McVeigh rented the Ryder truck used in the attack. ATF informant Carol Howe, a Tulsa debutante who traded shopping sprees at up-scale boutiques for a stint as a latter-day *Einsatzkommando*,\* claims Strassmeir and Dennis Mahon, the number three man in WAR's hierarchy, discussed "taking action" against the government.[6]

Howe says she overheard Mahon and Strassmeir plot the bombing of government buildings while she lived at Elohim City. Though ATF executives now claim Howe is "unstable and unreliable," they don't deny that she lived at the compound for some months in 1994, that she went there with Mahon, her boyfriend at the time, or that she provided the agency with information relating to the deadly blast. Howe claims she told her ATF contact, Angela Finley, "Sometime in November there was a meeting, and Strassmeir and Mahon said it was time to quit talking and go to war. I reported all this to Angie." [7]

Howe and Mahon also appeared on German television advocating violence as a legitimate means to bring fascism to power. Mahon's connection to leading German fascists is no passing fancy. Neither is the symbiotic relationship among

American and German neo-Nazis. By the early 1990s they were beginning to forge operational links.

Gary Rex Lauck, a leader of the National Socialist German Workers Party / Overseas Organization (NSDAP/AO), ran his propaganda operation from Lincoln, Nebraska. The largest importer of illegal neo-Nazi literature into Germany, Lauck is currently serving a four year prison term for his attempt to revive the Nazis' "dream" of a "Europe of fatherlands." Lauck is a friend and political ally of Dennis Mahon.

By the early 1990s amid a wave of racist attacks against immigrants, Jews and leftists, (incited in no small part by the "mainstream" Christian Democrats and the "opposition" Social Democrats' capitulation to the fascists over immigration) Lauck, in his role as networker, introduced German bonehead factions to the American Ku Klux Klan. In 1990, when Tulsa WAR leader Mahon traveled to Germany, he was the Imperial Wizard of the White Knights of the KKK.

According to ex-fascist Ingo Hasselbach, the leader of an NSDAP/AO cell known as the National Alternative, Mahon came to Germany "to do a cross burning" in the woods outside Berlin and to hold a series of meetings with Hasselbach's group. Shortly thereafter, German Klansmen and members of Hasselbach's cell launched a commando raid against antifascists occupying an abandoned castle. The combined KKK-NSDAP/AO assault team attacked with automatic rifles and other heavy weapons; a young Dutch anarchist was seriously wounded. What other links may have been forged during this period?[8]

After splitting with Mahon in 1994, Howe offered her services to the ATF. For months, she fed information to the agency. ATF documents show that within hours of the blast, agents had been notified about possible connections between the bombing and residents of Elohim City—including Strassmeir.

According to a bureau document dated April 21, 1995, agents James R. Blanchard II and Angela Finley talked with Finley's "confidential source," Carol Howe. The report states that Strassmeir "has talked frequently about direct action against the US Government. He is trained in weaponry and has discussed assassinations, bombings and mass shootings." [9]

The report relates that, "MEHAUN [Mahon] has talked with CAROL about targeting federal installations for destruction through bombings, such as the IRS Building, the Tulsa Federal Building and the Oklahoma City Federal Building. MEHAUN has also discussed a plan for destroying power lines from Oklahoma City to Catousa, Oklahoma, during the hottest part of the summer. MEHAUN reasons this will create a panic, and without air conditioning, mass race riots would begin." Strassmeir is then mentioned in relation to Elohim City's well-stocked arsenal: "CAROL said EC has .308 rifles, MAC 90s, mini-14s, and various fully-automatic weapons. STRASSMEYER once bragged about having an M-60 automatic machine gun, but later denied it." [10]

Howe even claims she saw McVeigh at Elohim City in December 1994. Though EC elders deny McVeigh ever visited the compound, more than a year earlier on October 12, 1993, McVeigh was stopped for speeding on a lonely stretch of highway on the only road leading into Elohim City.[11]

Despite information suggesting wider involvement in the bombing plot, Carol Howe's testimony was ruled "irrelevant" by presiding US District Judge Richard P. Matsch during the McVeigh trial. Though McVeigh's attorney, Stephen Jones, has tried to use this information in order to save his client from execution, Howe's statements raise troubling and legitimate questions which have gone unanswered.

Persistent reports linking Strassmeir to McVeigh rely on evidence supplied by still other witnesses, several of whom place Strassmeir in the town of Herington, Kansas where McVeigh and alleged co-conspirator Terry Nichols bought and stockpiled bomb components used in the attack. Though Strassmeir denies ever having been in Kansas, a young woman who dated McVeigh for two years, her mother, a retired high school coach and his wife, say they spoke with Strassmeir the week before the bombing.[12]

The former coach says he and his wife had a conversation with the ex-NATO officer at a lake north of Herington days before the blast. When questioned by a reporter, the man remembered saying to Strassmeir, "Your dialect is really different. Are you a soldier?" Strassmeir said, "No." When he asked him, "Do you work for the government?" Strassmeir "just kind of laughed." [13]

Yet despite statements placing him and McVeigh together in Kansas, and an ATF "BOLO" (be on the lookout) for his arrest,[14] for months Strassmeir came and went as he pleased and was not a focus for federal investigators; in fact, the FBI never spoke with him in person. Finally, in January 1996 Strassmeir was allowed to quietly slip out of the country, beating a hasty retreat to his parents' home in Berlin; why?



# Oklahoma City Bombing

## WHO IS ANDREAS STRASSMEIR?

Strassmeir claims to be an avid "Civil War buff" who first came to the US in 1988 to attend the 125th anniversary of the battle of Gettysburg. He returned in 1989 with hopes of permanently settling in the US. Vincent Petruskie, a retired Air Force colonel and father of a Strassmeir acquaintance, says he tried to land Strassmeir a job with the Drug Enforcement Agency or the Immigration and Naturalization Service. During a series of interviews with the *London Telegraph*, Strassmeir said he was planning to work on a "special assignment" for the Justice Department. But because he didn't have a valid visa, nothing came of it.[15]

Afterwards, Strassmeir says he went to Texas and worked as a salesman for a computer firm. From there, he drifted into the racist sub-culture of the Ku Klux Klan, Aryan Nations and the fringe of the Christian right. In 1991, Strassmeir landed in Elohim City.

Claiming a Knoxville address, Strassmeir obtained a Tennessee driver's license. The man who rented him the house, Ray Woodruff, says the German never actually lived there. A retired exterminator, Woodruff says Strassmeir was welcome because he was a like-minded "patriot" who shared his concerns about a government conspiracy to "take away our guns and invade our homes." Woodruff is on the national advisory board of the Council of Conservative Citizens, a right-wing group that evolved from the segregationist Citizens' Councils of the 1960s.[16]

The Tennessee man says he first met Strassmeir at the Black Mountain, N.C. home of Kirk Lyons, lead attorney with the far-right CAUSE Foundation (Canada, Australia, United States, South Africa, Europe). Lyons, who is Strassmeir's lawyer, says his client is the object of a vendetta by distraught relatives of bombing victims. He also claims that members of McVeigh's defense team circulated his client's picture across Kansas; a charge all four witnesses deny. They say it was the FBI who first showed them the ex-officer's photo.[17]

A ubiquitous figure in fascist and "patriot" scenes, Lyons has defended neo-Nazis, Holocaust deniers, members of the Ku Klux Klan and, with blessings from the FBI, he negotiated the surrender of "Christian Patriot" Freeman last year in Montana.

According to Germany Alert, an antifascist watchdog publication, Lyons has been filmed taking part in neo-Nazi activities in Germany. While Lyons claims to be just an average guy doing the Lord's work, one might question why an attorney linked to neo-Nazis would come to defend the son of a leading member of Helmut Kohl's CDU.[18]

According to Lyons, Strassmeir went to EC to work for cash because he didn't have a valid visa and therefore, couldn't work legally. While the hypocrisy of a rabid immigrant-basher aiding an illegal "Aryan" migrant is too precious not to note, this excuse also just doesn't wash. Lyons claims he can show that Strassmeir was nowhere near Kansas or Oklahoma City in the weeks before the blast. His "proof" consists of a few notes scratched on a Norman Rockwell calendar.[19]

Strassmeir claims he was mending fences near Elohim City for an elderly woman he and Lyons refuse to identify. Though Strassmeir insists he was working the week before the deadly blast, there are no notations on the calendar between April 9 and 15, a critical period when Kansas witnesses claim to have seen the ex-NATO officer in Herington.[20]

Strange events surround the identity—and motives—of the mysterious "Civil War buff." In 1992, Strassmeir's station wagon was impounded by the Oklahoma highway patrol for a traffic violation. In typical cop-shop fashion they searched the car and found a collection of documents in Strassmeir's briefcase, some of them in German. According to tow-truck driver Kenny Pence, Strassmeir brought heavy pressure to bear. "Boy, we caught hell over that one," Pence recalled. "The phone calls came in from the State Department, the Governor's office, and someone called and said he had diplomatic immunity. He was just a weird cookie."

Strassmeir says Pence was confused about some of the details but conceded: "Some calls did come in to rattle their cage," he said. "Something must have been said about my father's position." [21]

Equally odd is a recently-declassified State Department document interpreted by some researchers as evidence that the German government acted to prevent US officials from investigating Strassmeir's alleged link to the bombing. Published in April by Germany Alert, the document claims that German police, intelligence and the Office for the Protection of the Constitution have no data on Strassmeir.[22]

The Kohl government postures for the media, claiming their security services have identified "just about" every German involved with neo-Nazism, but isn't it curious that the son of a prominent Kohl ally, one with extensive links to North American fascists, is absent from their files? That the head of security for an armed neo-Nazi group with potential ties to a major international terrorist event would have gone unnoticed

by German intelligence is a curious omission indeed!

During extensive interviews with reporters, Strassmeir says he has "copper-bottomed information" about the bombing and reserved his harshest criticism for the ATF. His statement that, "the ATF had an informant inside this operation. They had advance warning and bungled it," seems to imply first-hand knowledge.

Strassmeir told the *Telegraph*, "What they should have done is make an arrest while the bomb was still being made instead of waiting till the last moment for a publicity stunt." [23]

When asked whether he thought the informant would ever come forward, Strassmeir said: "How can he? What happens if it was a sting operation from the very beginning? What happens if it comes out that the plant was a provocateur? What then? The relatives of the victims are going to go crazy, and he's going to be held responsible for the murder of 168 people. Of course the informant can't come forward. He's scared stiff right now." [24] In light of the ex-officer's statement, inquiring minds can't help but ask which informant he's referring to, Carol Howe, or Strassmeir himself?

Though federal prosecutors say they now believe McVeigh and Nichols "acted alone," what about the sworn statements made by witnesses to the Oklahoma grand jury? Others have already testified they saw McVeigh drive a light-colored sedan with other men inside. One man claims they were following a Ryder truck like the one used to blow up the Murrah building.[25]

Who are the "others unknown" whom the feds can't seem to find? And who is Andreas Strassmeir? A stone-cold killer who participated in the plot as Carol Howe alleges, or an informant whose NATO background and German ancestry would make him a perfect intelligence asset for infiltrating the neo-Nazi underground?

## "GROUND ZERO"?

Straddling the Arkansas-Oklahoma border, Elohim City has been described as "ground zero" for "Aryan warriors." Though less well-known than Richard Butler's Idaho-based Aryan Nations, Elohim City has a long, tangled history with some of the most violent factions of the far-right.

Since its founding by Canadian Christian Identity minister Robert Millar in the 1980s, Elohim City has been home to fugitive members of The Order, Covenant, Sword and Arm of the Lord (CSA), and other armed groups, including the bank-robbing Aryan Republican Army (ARA).

The ideological roots of the Oklahoma City bombing are intertwined with those of the CSA and The Order. CSA founder James Ellison was a committed Christian Identity fascist; that is, until he became a federal witness and ratted-out his Nazi friends. When Posse Comitatus leader Gordon Kahl was shot during a stand-off after killing two cops, Ellison's group issued a declaration of war. Kahl's death galvanized the white supremacist movement. Shortly thereafter, the CSA joined forces with The Order.

They were waging war against the "Zionist Occupation Government", or ZOG. Strategic targets for attack included government buildings and other vital infrastructure. One scheme even involved a plan to poison the water supplies of an unnamed city.

On August 9, 1983, Ellison helped torch the Metropolitan Community Church in Springfield, Missouri. The MCC serves the queer community and was therefore considered a "legitimate" target. Then on November 2, Snell and CSA member William Thomas bombed a natural gas pipeline in Arkansas with C-4 explosives.[26]

In order to wage war, the fascists needed cash, lots of it, so they targeted a pawnshop in Texarkana. They were using the pawnshop stick-up as a dry-run for

planned bank robberies. During the heist Snell put a gun to the pawnbroker's head. Assuming the man was Jewish, he pulled the trigger. Snell later told Ellison that the victim "needed to die." Finally on June 30, 1984, Snell was pulled over on a routine traffic stop in rural Arkansas by a black state trooper. He emerged from the car firing and killed the cop. Snell was caught hours later and eventually was sentenced to death.[27]

Kerry Noble, a former CSA leader turned federal witness told the *Denver Post* after the Oklahoma City bombing that Ellison and Snell specifically singled out the Murrah building in conversations he had with them back in 1983. According to Noble, in addition to the Murrah building, CSA militants planned to bomb a number of overpasses on major highways around Dallas.[28]



Noble believes the reason the Murrah building was chosen as a target was its "low security; so many government offices in the same building, in the middle of America—the heartland... No one would suspect it... We knew nobody would expect it." [29]

And retired FBI agent Jack Knox believes Snell maintained communication links to people "in the movement." Snell was thought of fondly in Elohim City; he would soon be buried there. Knox believes that the Oklahoma City blast "might be... in memory of him." [30]

As the date of Snell's execution approached, others were fearful. A former high-ranking Arkansas prison official, Alan Ables, said he was so concerned that he took "extraordinary personal precautions" the day of the execution. Ables also said that on four or five occasions during the days before his death, Snell insisted that "there was going to be a bomb, there was going to be an explosion" and that somebody from the Mideast would be blamed.[31] Snell knew the racist nature of the system he claimed to oppose. In the wake of the blast, the media paraded a stream of right-wing "terrorism experts" before the cameras who swore the origins of the bombing "lay in the Middle East"—as did the FBI. But Richard Snell knew better.

At 9:02 a.m. on April 19, 1995, two tons of fertilizer and fuel exploded outside the Murrah building. In the hours before his scheduled 9 p.m. death, the former prison official recalled that Snell chuckled and laughed as he watched television coverage of the Oklahoma City bombing. Alan Ables clearly remembers Richard Snell's final words: "Governor Tucker, look over your shoulder, I wouldn't trade places with any of you or any of your political cronies. Hell has victory, I'm at peace." [32]

## CASE CLOSED?

Cracks in the federal government's carefully-crafted bombing scenario threaten to become huge gaping holes. Neo-Nazi debutante Carol Howe believes she supplied authorities with enough information to stop the Oklahoma City bombing. Howe and grieving family members wonder why nothing was done. Answers to this question may lie with ATF agent Angela Finley's recently-published transcripts.

By December 1994, ATF executives were alarmed by the direction taken by Finley's interviews with Carol Howe. The bureau began to plan a raid on Elohim City. The ATF intended to arrest Strassmeir and other residents on weapons charges, yet the raid never took place. Howe told Finley that WAR leader Mahon claimed he knew how to make bombs and even bragged about exploding a 500-pound ammonium nitrate bomb under a truck in Michigan five years earlier.[33]

Other cracks in the government's wall of silence around the Nazi compound have also appeared. Despite repeated assertions by federal investigators that McVeigh had only a passing connection to Elohim City, Finley's notes show otherwise. Months before the blast, Howe said Mahon and Strassmeir discussed someone named "Tim Tuttle," an alias federal prosecutors say was used by Timothy McVeigh.[34]

The theory advanced by those who forced an Oklahoma grand jury to convene—that the bombing resulted from a bungled "sting" operation involving a jurisdictional turf war between competing federal agencies—was bolstered in a Tulsa courtroom on June 30. During a pre-trial hearing on Carol Howe's indictment on unrelated bomb charges, local reporters claimed "near pandemonium" broke out in the courtroom when an FBI agent testified that Christian Identity fascist, Robert Millar, was an FBI informant.[35]

Since Carol Howe told the ATF months before the Murrah building blast that Millar urged compound residents to take action against the state, this revelation potentially transforms EC's spiritual guru from a marginal figure on the edge of Oklahoma City's tangled web into an agent provocateur. If nothing else, it sheds new light on FBI statements that Millar

(Continued to page 18)



# No Jurisdiction: The Gustafsen Lake Crisis

Just prior to going to press we received notice that 13 of the 15 defendants convicted in connection with the Ts'peten siege in 1995 were sentenced to prison terms. The four of the defendants convicted of causing actual danger to life and possession of weapons received sentences of up to four years. —Eds.

On May 20, 1997, when the Gustafsen Lake trial jury convicted 15 people of mischief and mischief endangering life, several jury members wept openly. The emotional response baffled mainstream reporters, but anyone who had actually followed the trial found it all too fitting.

The official sources—government, police, mainstream media, and British Columbia's comprador native elite—maintain that the month-long siege was a story of Indian renegades and squatters, who every summer held a ritual illegally on private land, and in 1995, inexplicably refused to leave. But the trial testimony revealed instead the extent of collusion by those official sources in the genocidal practices of the Canadian state.

Gustafsen Lake was the largest operation ever conducted by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP); it included the largest land battle involving Canadian Forces since the Korean war, and led to the longest and costliest criminal trial in Canadian history. At the same time that the Ontario Provincial Police (OPP) were closing in on Stoney Pointers at Ipperwash, Ontario, in central BC 400 police and soldiers used dog teams, airplanes, helicopters, APC's, land mines, and fired 77,000 rounds—including hollow point ammunition—at a handful of Secwepemc traditionalists and their allies. Astoundingly, only one defender was wounded and none of them were killed.

The seeds of the crisis were sown in January 1995, when a group of native traditionalists had their lawyer, Bruce Clark, draw up a petition to Queen Elizabeth II. This was the latest in a series of efforts to bring the question of jurisdiction over unceded native land before an impartial, third-party tribunal.

Their case is built on the rather obvious principle of native sovereignty—that is, their land is subject to their government and their laws—until they relinquish it by treaty. Yet Canada has usurped jurisdiction over huge areas without treaties, notably virtually all of British Columbia. It has used this illegally assumed jurisdiction to prohibit the core structures of aboriginal religion and nationhood, impose Indian Act Band Councils in place of the traditional governments, force Native children into res-

idential "schools" and white foster homes, fraudulently sell or grant permits for resource extraction on Native land, and to imprison or even execute those who resist. In 1995 the petitioners asked the Queen to convene a special constitutional court in Britain which, though mandated since the early 18th century to hear jurisdictional disputes between indigenous nations and the colonies, has fallen into disuse.

A ruling in their favor would unmask Canada's continuing colonialist practices and seriously challenge corporate and state exploitation of unceded lands. Canada requested that the Queen not convene the court, and decided to settle the matter by force of arms rather than rule of law.

One of the petitioners was Percy Rosette, faithkeeper of the Sundance and burial grounds at Ts'peten (Gustafsen Lake). For some years he had been having troubles with Lyle James, the American rancher to whom BC has sold over 180,000 hectares of Secwepemc land. According to RCMP command, meetings about the Sundance at Ts'peten began "with some intensity" in May, 1995. On June 13, they escorted James and several truckloads of ranchhands to the Sundance site. Armed with rifles and cracking a bullwhip, the cowboys threatened to "string up some red niggers," desecrated the site, and delivered a hand-written note styled as an "eviction notice," while the cops waited down the road.

Unaware of the RCMP's participation, Rosette reported the hate crime to them. They replied that it was a civil matter between Rosette and the rancher, and they would not get involved. Rosette turned to friends and allies to protect the sacred site and declared that they would resist all attempts at their removal until the underlying issue of jurisdiction was finally addressed.

BC's "liberal" New Democratic Party (NDP) government, long criticized for being "soft" on Native issues, saw their popularity soar as Premier Mike Harcourt accused Sundancers of being "cultists" and Attorney General Ujjal Dosanjh insisted it was neither a land nor a native rights issue and made bellicose statements about using force against those "thugs" and "terrorists." Mainstream media enthusiastically participated in the RCMP's self-described "smear and disinformation campaign" with coverage so ugly that US National Public Radio featured it in a show on racist propaganda. Reporters even did espionage work for RCMP until police besieged the camp, cutting off communication, food, water and medical supplies.

While RCMP told the public they were doing everything to negotiate, the com-

manders wrote in their notes "we need to clean them out entirely and not have any hanging issues similar to what occurred at Oka," and "it will require the killing of the hardliners." They praised the "restraint" of officers under fire, but forensics, testimony and videotape indicated that police repeatedly fired at Sundancers unprovoked. Most dramatic are the aerial surveillance videos showing a police sniper firing long-distance at an unarmed man in an agreed-upon safe zone on Sept. 12, and the Sept. 11 police ambush in which a camp truck on its way to fetch drinking water was exploded by a command mine, rammed twice by an Armored Personnel Carrier (APC), and its occupants were fired upon with their hands in the air.

One APC driver testified he was ordered to "eliminate" Secwepemc elder Wolverine, who was then charged with attempted murder for trying to shoot out the tires of the pursuing 14-ton vehicle. Most of the 77,000 police and army rounds were shot that afternoon. Altogether, about 100 shells were attributed to the camp.

For 10 months, the jury watched cop after cop give evasive and implausible testimony and get tangled up in their own lies. They saw JoJo Ignace, Wolverine's developmentally disabled son, led in from jail with cuts and bruises from beatings by guards. They heard self-representing defendants Wolverine, O.J. Pitawanakwat, Shelagh Franklin and their counsel of choice Bruce Clark—held in contempt of court for attempting to represent them against the wishes of the BC Law Society, and appearing as witness, not counsel—speak passionately about Native culture, jurisdiction and sovereignty, and the Canadian judiciary's

willful blindness to the law protecting them.

But Judge Josephson used the last four days of the trial to deliver a biased and distorted synopsis of the evidence. He barred the jury from considering every major defense argument, insisted they ignore the laws Clark presented to them, and steered them to convict. Though the jury did acquit on the most serious charges, they were unable or unwilling to defy Clark's authority entirely.

The Crown is seeking unprecedented 2 to 5 year jail terms for the simple mischief charges, 5 to 10 years for 3 of the defendants convicted of mischief endangering life and 16 to 23 years for Wolverine, who has been in prison without bail since October 1995. "Asserting the court has no jurisdiction" is cited as an "aggravating circumstance," indicating clearly that the defenders are to be held for political reasons.

Supporters are demanding freedom for the Ts'peten Defenders, a third party tribunal to examine the jurisdiction issue and an independent public inquiry into all aspects of the Gustafsen Lake crisis. As Wolverine told the judge, "The Crown admitted there was no purchase and no treaty. So how can you claim to have jurisdiction? Is the Queen involved? The Prime Minister's office? The Attorney General of Canada? We want to see how deep the corruption goes."★

More info. on the Ts'peten Defenders' web site:  
<http://kafka.uvic.ca/~viping/SISIS/gustmain.html>

Settlers In Support of Indigenous Sovereignty  
PO Box 8673, Victoria, B.C. Canada V8X 3S2  
sisis@envirolink.org  
<http://kafka.uvic.ca/~viping/SISIS/SISmain.html>



## Eternal Hostility: Book Review

*Eternal Hostility: The Struggle Between Theocracy and Democracy*  
By Frederick Clarkson

By BILL MEYERS

We've watched Moslems, Orthodox Christians, and Catholics kill each other in the former Yugoslavia for a few years now. Can such insanity happen here? In the US there now exists a large group of people who want to kill people of opposing faiths, homosexuals, and anyone who provides or has an abortion. In some cases they have even succeeded. Incredibly enough, they have also captured key posts in the Republican Party.

They are the radical Christian right. They operate in a myriad of groups whose membership ranges from a hundred thousand people to tens of millions. You've heard of their names: Paul Hill and others who murdered doctors who performed abortions; Pat Robertson, the candidate for President who won the Iowa Republican Caucus in 1988; Ralph Reed, the ubiquitous (and now former) front man for the Christian Coalition.

Frederick Clarkson's new book gives an in-depth view of the movement: how it originated, what it thinks, how it operates. Arm yourself with this information, because neither the Christian right nor the mass media want you to know, until it is too late.

The stated goal of the Christian right is to establish a theocracy, a state in which government and religious rule are united, not unlike the Puritan colonies in Massachusetts in the 17th century. Non-Christians would be considered heretics and executed, as

would Christians who do not agree with the theocrats. Homosexuals' behavior would be subject to the death penalty.

Women would work only in the home. Needless to say, only white male Christian property owners would be allowed to vote. In most versions, non-whites would be slaves. That's the hard core: moderates usually soften some of these positions.

One theologian pushing the movement is R.J. Rushdooney, who has published over 30 books and "insists that biblical law requires 'death without mercy' for 'idolatry.'" The movement towards theocracy is called Reconstructionism. This goes far beyond Fundamentalism, which states that the Bible is God's literal word, or charismatic (born-again) Christianity, which promotes Jesus as a personal savior. But

recruits are often found among these broader groupings. Abortion is usually the wedge issue: by defining a fetus as a human, they label ordinary people as murderers and themselves as saviors of the unborn. With emotions high, recruits can be led from these to the other positions of the Reconstructionists.

You'll learn from the book how a tiny percentage of the population was able to seize control of much of the Republican Party (the key: the apathy of your opponents). This is the stealth method of organizing: don't state your real positions, which would alienate moderate voters.

Don't mention killing homosexuals: just say "family values." Don't say you would execute scientists: just say "Creation science should be taught in the schools as an alternative explanation of evolution."

The book has good sections on the cross-pollination of the Christian right with the militia movement (most militia have

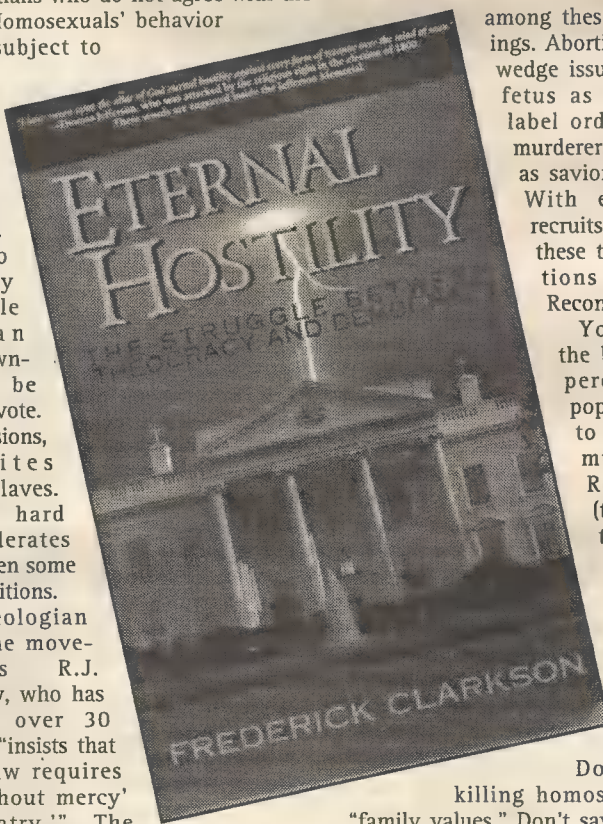
Christian right members, but many are not controlled by them), and the Fully Informed Jury movement, but, while it points out the right's racism, it does not do much to document any connection with the Klan or neo-Nazism.

One issue the author does not bring up is the conflict between the Christian right and the more mainstream Protestant and liberal Catholics. The conflict clearly has psychological roots: liberal Catholics prefer the New Testament and the body of theology based on Jesus's stopping a crowd from stoning an adulterer, and his admonition to "love one's neighbor as oneself." The Christian right treats Jesus as a warrior-prince, and prefers the more severe patriarchal values of the Old Testament.

Where anarchists will probably part company with the author is on his methods of defeating the Christian right. The author comes from a middle-of-the-road viewpoint, and hence sees the need to shore up the current "democratic" system. Our question is, how can we tear down the current system, and not lose a civil war to either the capitalists or the Christian right?

*Eternal Hostility* is well-researched, well-documented, and well worth reading for anyone who doesn't want to live under the rule of some half-insane Christian ayatollah.★

*Eternal Hostility* is a trade paperback, available for \$15.95 from  
Common Courage Press  
Box 702  
Monroe, ME 04951







Rally for Mumia on July 5, 1997 at City Hall in Philadelphia.

## Free Alvaro Hernandez

In July 1996, Alvaro Hernandez Luna was arrested in Alpine, Texas and charged with aggravated assault on two police officers (a sheriff and city police), a confrontation resulting from charges which were later dropped by the local district attorney. The authorities are trying to unlawfully imprison compañero Alvaro because of his long history as an advocate for the civil and human rights of the Mexican community and his involvement in the struggle for the national liberation of nuestra Raza.

On Nov. 4, 1996, representing himself in court, compañero Alvaro was able to defeat the system and force them to drop felony charges by proving that the Alpine police department and the prosecutor were lying and withholding evidence in an attempt to have him imprisoned. It was these original charges (which were dropped on Nov. 4, 1996) that led to a confrontation with Alpine police and the system imposing new charges of "aggravated assault."

Police claim that compañero Alvaro unlawfully resisted arrest and that two officers were assaulted. The system has dropped the original charges and are attempting to imprison Alvaro for resisting police brutality. Unlike what the government says, the real issue around the case of compañero Alvaro is a person's right to self-defense against police terror and to struggle for nuestro Raza's self-determination.

Compañero Alvaro Hernandez currently has multiple lawsuits pending against the city, county and police. The criminal justice system throughout Aztlan (southwest) is anti-Mexicano.

Alvaro has a long history of community-

based organizing on behalf of Raza and is known internationally for his work around human rights. He was in the process of organizing against police brutality in Alpine and this is the real reason the police began harassing him, ultimately leading to all those false charges and the situation in which he finds himself today.

Alvaro Hernandez has been involved in many community-based movements, including: the National Movement of La Raza, Stop the Violence Youth Committee, Ricardo Adalpe Guerra Defense Committee, and a non-governmental delegate to the 49th Session of the UN Commission on Human Rights. He has given public presentations on police abuse at many colleges throughout the southwest, and has been on national television programs. He is recognized as a political prisoner by the Special International Tribunal on the Violation of Human Rights, Political Prisoners and POWs in the US Prisons and Jails, in New York City in December 1990.

Currently the system keeps transferring Alvaro all over the place, in efforts to break his spirit of resistance, to disorganize his outside support, and to prevent him from organizing on the inside. Write to Alvaro at:

Alvaro Hernandez #7005911  
El Paso County Jail  
PO Box 125  
El Paso, TX 79999

National Campaign to Free Alvaro Hernandez  
915-532-4148  
udb@bum.ucsd.edu  
<http://bum.ucsd.edu/~udb/cmp-p-alvaro.html>

## Jericho '98

On Friday, March 27, 1998 there will be a march at the White House in DC demanding recognition of and amnesty for all political prisoners and prisoners of war in the US. The mobilization is being dubbed "Spring Break '98 Jericho March." Organizers are encouraging students around the US to mobilize and attend.

Organizers are hoping to build local and regional mobilizations leading up to the actual march in DC. To get materials (leaflets, booklets and posters) to build the campaign for the march, get in touch.★

Jericho March '98  
PO Box 650  
New York, NY 10009  
1-212-928-4349 ext. 2

## NY ABC pamphlet

George Jackson was a prisoner who became a leader in the Black Panther Party. He was an inspiration to revolutionaries inside and outside the walls. His murder by the state set the stage for the historic Attica uprising in 1971. Almost 30 years later, his legacy still inspires those who fight for liberation.

New York Anarchist Black Cross is putting together a pamphlet on George Jackson, consisting of writings by prisoners about how George Jackson has inspired or influenced you, and what George Jackson means to you. NY ABC is soliciting writings from prisoners on this topic. Write for more information or to send an essay:

New York Anarchist Black Cross  
PO Box 1034  
Bronx, NY 10454

## Books for Prisoners

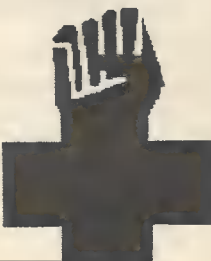
These are a few of the groups that provide free or cheap political books for prisoners.

Blackout Books Through Bars  
50 Avenue B  
New York NY 10009

Prison Book Program  
c/o Bound Together Books  
369 Haight Street  
San Francisco, CA 94117

Books Through Bars  
4527 Springfield Ave.  
Philadelphia, PA 19143

Books for Prisoners  
c/o Left Bank Books  
92 Pike St., Box A  
Seattle, WA 98101



# New Witness Throws Light on Mumia Frame-Up

By W. SCHWEIZER

At the end of June the latest hearing in Mumia Abu-Jamal's appeal for a new trial raised several big new questions about the misconduct of the state.

Presiding was the same Judge Sabo who had run the court at Mumia's original trial in 1982. Now retired, Sabo clearly didn't want his life of leisure to be bothered by any questions about the functioning of the system of so-called justice.

Testifying was Pamela Jenkins, who previously had been a federal government informant and witness in the 39th district police scandal. At these trials it was brought out that manufacturing evidence and perjury were standard operating procedure in at least this one district of the Philadelphia Police Department.

Jenkins testified that when she was 16 years old, her boyfriend, Philadelphia Police Officer Tom Ryan, took her to the central district where he and his brother, Richard, tried to get her to finger Mumia as the killer of Daniel Faulkner. "They wanted me to say that I saw Mumia shoot the officer," she said, even though she was not even at the scene.

In the end the Ryan brothers were unsuccessful in promoting her perjury. But her testimony corroborated that of Veronica Jones last fall. Jones, a prostitute at the time who was at the scene, at first reported that she had seen one or two men run away immediately after the shooting. However, at Mumia's trial she denied this happened. Only last year did she come forward and admit she lied at the trial after several other Philadelphia cops (not the Ryans) threatened her with long prison terms and the loss of her children if she told the truth. They offered to let her work her corner with police protection if she lied.

Jenkins raised new questions about the role and whereabouts of Cynthia White, also a prostitute, who was the state's only eyewitness who claimed to see Mumia actually shoot Faulkner. (Several other eyewitnesses, however, have put White a block away from the spot from which she claims to have witnessed the crime).

Jenkins also testified that White had been an informer for the Philadelphia Police Department, a fact that was never told to the defense and in itself would be grounds for a new trial. In 1982 an investigator for Mumia tried to interview White on the street several times, but was put off each time by the presence of nearby men whom he took to be plainclothes cops protecting her.

After the trial White seemed to fade away, but surfaced again in 1987 after an arrest. At her bail hearing, a Philadelphia detective told the court that White was a witness in a high-profile homicide case and asked that she be released on her own recognizance. She was, and promptly disappeared. So far as is known, the Philadelphia Police Department never entered her name on the index of persons wanted on outstanding warrants.

At Jenkins' hearing a representative of the Philadelphia Police Department claimed the cops had been making a "team effort" to find White for two years.

Nevertheless, Jenkins herself testified that she had caught up with White this past March at a North Philly crack house. Further, Jenkins stated that when White spotted her, she acted as if she had seen a ghost and fled the house in a red pickup truck with the two Ryan brothers.

Stung by this, the state claimed that Cynthia White was really dead. Detective Raleigh Witcher produced a 1992 death certificate from New Jersey for one "Cynthia Williams." He claimed that "Williams" was really "White" even though he had never seen a body or matched fingerprints. The District Attorney then brought in another witness, Sgt. Elizabeth Welch of the New Jersey State Police, who testified that the prints of "Cynthia Williams" matched those on file of Cynthia White.

However, the prosecution refused to let Mumia's attorneys examine the prints. Further, it came out that the codes used to classify and index the fingerprints of "Williams" were different from those of White. Despite these problems, Judge Sabo nevertheless declared of White: "as far as I'm concerned, she's dead. I'm making a ruling. We're finished."

Needless to say, having been declared dead by the Philadelphia cops and their robbed friends on the bench, Cynthia White's life is now in great danger.

Another question raised by Jenkins' testimony was that of the presence of other cops at the scene of Faulkner's shooting. Jenkins stated that the Ryan brothers told her that officers named Boston, O'Neal and "Sarge" were there when Faulkner was killed. If this is true, why were they there? And why would Faulkner have had any need to radio for the assistance of a wagon if these cops were already in the area?

In light of the already known involvement of that district's cops in prostitution, it's time that all the records of the department be opened up for public scrutiny in the same way that the corrupt and repressive East German police records were exposed after that government fell.

Opening police records will require a massive struggle. A small hint of what would be necessary came on June 26, the first day of the hearing, when about 50 demonstrators created a horrendous din outside the office of City Council president John Street.

Street and his brother Milton made national reputations for themselves thirty years ago by posing as militants on the City Council, seemingly determined to win things for the Black Community by any means necessary.

Today, however, Street simply shrugs that the City Council can't do anything for Mumia, even though the council in Santa Cruz California passed a resolution calling for a new trial, and similar resolutions are pending in other cities.★

## Get Involved... Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Some of the groups working to free Mumia Abu-Jamal

Groups That Can Provide Organizing Resources to Support Mumia:

Int'l Concerned Friends & Family of Mumia  
PO Box 19709  
Philadelphia, PA 19143  
215-476-8812  
[mumia@aol.com](mailto:mumia@aol.com)

Equal Justice USA  
PO Box 5206  
Hyattsville, MD 20782  
301-699-0042

Refuse & Resist  
305 Madison Ave, Suite 1166  
New York, NY 10165  
212-713-5657  
[resist@walrus.com](mailto:resist@walrus.com)

NY Free Mumia Coalition  
PO Box 650  
New York, NY 10009  
212-330-8029

Internet Sites for Info on Mumia:

<http://www.mumia.org/>

<http://www.jgc.apc.org/quixote/ej/>

<http://www.cilyt.com/~refuse/mumia/index.html>

<http://www.xs4all.nl/~tank/spg-l/mumia002.htm>

<http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/4167/mumia.html>

<http://www.brucehof.org/issues/deathpen/>



# The Friends of Durruti and

Review: *The Friends of Durruti Group: 1937-1939*  
by Agustín Guillamón  
Translated by Paul Sharkey  
\$9.95 from AK Press, PO Box 40682,  
San Francisco, CA 94140-0682

BY CHRISTOPHER DAY

The 1936 Spanish Revolution was the most significant attempt at an anarchist social revolution ever. Within a year, however, most of the gains of the revolution had been reversed. The capitalist state had been restored and the once puny Communist Party had taken effective control of that state.

On May 3, 1937 an assault by Communist-led soldiers on the anarchist-controlled Telephone Exchange in Barcelona sparked a general strike and several days of barricade fighting. The workers of Barcelona, mainly affiliated with the anarcho-syndicalist union federation, the CNT (Confederación Nacional del Trabajo or National Confederation of Labor), promptly took control of almost all of Barcelona.

The workers' uprising was not merely a response to the assault on the Telephone Exchange but to the accelerating erosion of the revolutionary gains of the previous year.

On July 19, 1936 workers in Barcelona and across much of the rest of Spain responded to an attempt by fascist military officers (soon to be led by Francisco Franco) to overthrow the left-center government of the Spanish Republic. The workers rose up, seized armories, smashed the fascist forces in their midst and initiated the seizure of factories and other workplaces. In several regions of Spain the peasantry followed the workers' example and began to seize and in many instances collectivize the land. They created revolutionary committees and new forms of local self-government.

But between July 1936 and May 1937 the shattered power of the capitalist state was rebuilt. The workers' militias that had defeated fascism in the cities and then marched off to fight Franco's forces at the front were forcibly incorporated into a reconstituted Republican Army under effective Communist party control.

The Spanish Communist Party's politics were controlled by Stalin and the Comintern. They spearheaded the restoration of land and factories seized in the July revolution to the landlords and capitalists, as well as the dismantling of the various instruments of workers' and peasants' power.

The CNT's control of the Telephone Exchange, which gave them control over communications in and out of Barcelona, was one of the important gains of the July revolution. So when it was attacked the workers of Barcelona knew what to do.

At this critical moment the supposedly anarchist leadership of the CNT (who had joined the Republican government!) ordered a cease-fire and demanded that the workers abandon the barricades and return to work. While the CNT leaders declared that there were no winners or losers, the Telephone Exchange was lost and in the weeks and

months that followed many of the revolutionaries who had led the street fighting became victims of repression.

The May Days in Barcelona were a moment of truth for the revolution and for the anarchist movement. The leadership of the CNT betrayed the workers to the capi-

revolutionary theory. We did not have a concrete program. We had no idea where we were going. We had lyricism aplenty: but when all is said and done, we did not know what to do with our masses of workers or how to give substance to the popular effusion which erupted inside our organizations. By not knowing what to do, we handed the revolution

'Nosotros' group (abetted by other FAI affinity groups) acted as a revolutionary vanguard astute enough to steer the confederal masses towards a victorious uprising."

Guillamón's use of "vanguard" is provocative. He doesn't mean the word in the sense of a vanguardist political party like the Communist party. Instead he means it in the more general sense of the most advanced sections of the working class—the people who actually took the lead in launching a revolutionary uprising. Guillamón proposes that inevitably revolutions have leaderships—groups of people who take the political initiative that, for better or worse, other people end up following. The *Nosotros* group and others in leadership in the CNT were the effective leadership of the Spanish Revolution on July 19; they bear a particular responsibility for its ultimate defeat.

## THE FAILURE OF WILL

Guillamón argues that the defeat began almost immediately. After storming the Army barracks and seizing 35,000 rifles, decisively smashing the capitalist state in Catalonia, the leaders of the CNT met with Luis Companys, the President of the Generalidad (the semi-autonomous government) of Catalonia and set up the Central Anti-fascist Militia Committee of Catalonia (CAMC) to work jointly with the then powerless government. Power was in the hands of the CNT but they failed to use it to finish up politically what they had just accomplished militarily.

The CNT leaders justified their actions by saying that they did not want to impose an "anarchist dictatorship." But the consequence of their vacillation at this critical moment was the restoration of the capitalist dictatorship (the Republican government) and the eventual victory of a fascist one. The leaders of the CNT abdicated their revolutionary responsibility to dismantle the bourgeois government because they did not know what to do with power. The Friends of Durruti understood that revolution is an all or nothing affair, a fight to the death with the oppressors, and that sentimentality towards the capitalists would be repaid in bullets.

## CONSEQUENCES OF COLLABORATION

Once the leaders of the CNT agreed to let the capitalist state survive it was only a matter of time before they were to become part of it. In November 1936 four representatives of the CNT joined the Republican government. This collaborationist policy was accompanied by a power struggle within the CNT. One aspect of this struggle was that Liberto Callejas, the managing editor of the CNT's main newspaper *Solidaridad Obrera* (Workers Solidarity), was replaced by Jacinto Torroja who in turn replaced the rest of the editorial staff. Several of the ousted *Solidaridad Obrera* staffers went on to become founding members of the Friends of Durruti, the most important one being Jaime Balius.

*The leadership of the CNT betrayed the workers to the capitalist state. An exception to this failure was the Friends of Durruti Group which called for the workers to retain control of the streets and complete the revolution.*

## THE MILITIAS AND THE REPUBLICAN ARMY

At the same time as the struggle within *Solidaridad Obrera*, the Republican government was seeking to incorporate the militias that were created in the days following July 19 into a regular army under the command of the Republican government. The Republican Army was dominated by the Communist Party and Russian military advisors.

The Republican Army differed from the militias in several ways. The militias elected their officers whereas in the Army they were appointed and drawn largely from the ranks of the old bourgeois officer corps. Women fought side by side with men in the militias, whereas the army excluded them from combat.

## PREPARATIONS FOR REVOLUTION

The workers' uprising on July 19, 1936 is commonly treated as a spontaneous response to the military's attempt to seize power. This view ignores the fact that the leadership of the CNT anticipated a confrontation with the military and had been preparing for the uprising for months in advance. Guillamón begins his account by describing the preparations the leadership of the CNT and the FAI (Federación Anarquista Iberica or Iberian Anarchist Federation), in particular the *Nosotros* group, made for a revolutionary insurrection. His purpose is to establish that "the



talist state. An exception to this failure was the Friends of Durruti Group which called for the workers to retain control of the streets and complete the revolution. On the 60th anniversary of the May Days, AK Press has published a translation of Agustín Guillamón's brilliant book *The Friends of Durruti Group: 1937-1939*. This short book is the most important anarchist book to appear in English in many years.

Guillamón offers a brief history and a critical political analysis of the theoretical positions of the Friends of Durruti. While they were best known for their capacities as street-fighters the Friends of Durruti constantly emphasized the importance of theory. By theory they did not mean the abstract and poetic visions of a future anarchist utopia that dominated the thinking of much of the anarchist movement, but rather a concrete analysis of actual conditions and a program for action that flowed from that analysis. In the clandestinely published July 20, 1937 edition of their newspaper, *El Amigo del Pueblo*, they declared:

"Revolutions without theory fail to make progress. We of the 'Friends of Durruti' have outlined our thinking, which may be amended as appropriate in great social upheaval but which hinges upon two essential points which cannot be avoided: a program, and rifles."

In their pamphlet *Towards a Fresh Revolution* they analyzed the consequences of the anarchist movement's theoretical incoherence for the Spanish Revolution:

"What happened was what had to happen. The CNT was utterly devoid of





# the Anarchist Revolution

## DUAL POWER?

Each of the militias voted on whether or not to join the Army. The decision of whether or not to accept this military subordination to the capitalist state was argued out passionately in the militias. On the whole most of the militias opted to join because it was the only way they could get the Russian-supplied guns and ammunition. Militia members who would not accept incorporation into the Army were ordered by the CNT to leave the front. A significant number of militia members in two of the major militias, the Durruti Column and the

The Friends of Durruti also called for the creation of a Revolutionary Junta to replace the Republican Government. This has caused some confusion since in English "Junta" is associated with the rule of a military dictatorship. In Spanish it means roughly the same thing as committee or council means in English. As Guillamón's translator Paul Sharkey explains, "Each CNT union was run by a Junta. In Mexico, the Mexican Liberal Party of the Magon brothers was run by a Junta. So the word itself carries no associa-

ment to anarchist revolution. But they were saying that their attempts to make one had taught them a few things about what it would actually take to win.

## MARXISM?

The leaders of the CNT sought to discredit the Friends of Durruti by calling them Marxists and claiming that they were under the influence or control of the POUM (the Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista, an independent Marxist group that fought side by side with them in the May Days) or the Bolshevik-Leninists (a tiny Trotskyist group). How obviously hypocritical coming from leaders who were rubbing elbows with the very Communists who were ordering the shooting of anarchists in the streets of Barcelona.

Guillamón persuasively shoots down several lies used against the Friends of Durruti and demonstrates their political independence. But he refuses to deny the similarity between some of the Friends of Durruti's theoretical innovations and formulations common to Marxism. These similarities, he argues, were not a consequence of any capitulation to Marxism, but rather reflected certain realities about revolutionary struggle that were discoverable by anarchists as well as Marxists:

"... the Friends of Durruti were anarchists who had learned the lessons of the harshest first hand experience. What novelties they introduced to anarchist theory may well have been old Marxist postulates, themselves merely elementary lessons from the class struggle. But anyone who bandies about labels and regards that as having settled the matter is ill-advised. If the first hand experience of the proletariat in the class struggle is not enough to remedy errors and history has nothing to teach us from past struggles, we are left with the affirmation of the primacy of dogma and belief and a denial that there is any validity in experience and history."

Guillamón notes that the Friends of Durruti always worked within an anarchist idiom. While they were undoubtedly aware that they had come to some conclusions that some Marxists had also come to they came to them by way of anarchism and the experience of trying to put it into practice. The need to modify theory in the light of actual experiences no more invalidates anarchism than it does any other body of ideas. On the contrary it is the failure to modify ideas in the light of experience that turns once-liberatory ideas into shackles of dogma.

## THE LEADERSHIP QUESTION

The Friends of Durruti ultimately were not able to put their ideas into practice. At the height of their influence they were only able to issue declarations. They saw the need for a revolutionary organization that could implement their program and clung to the hope that the CNT could still be that organization. One of Guillamón's most powerful criticisms of the Friends of Durruti is of their failure to develop a more profound critique of the CNT. As he explains it, "it was not the anarchist ministers who were leading the CNT away from its principles, but rather the CNT that was churning out ministers."

Guillamón's description of the Nosotros group in July 1936 and the Friends of Durruti in May 1937 emphasizes the leadership roles played by these groups. As he sees it, the Friends of Durruti's most important challenge to revolutionary anarchism is on the question of leadership. If there is a minority of the working class (or any oppressed group) that has the experience, skills, politics and vision to see the need for, the possibility of and that has the

*By denying the existence of leadership in the revolutionary process the anarchist leaders of the July 1936 revolution evaded responsibility for their own errors. Even worse they obstructed the ability of future generations to draw the correct conclusions about those errors.*

Iron Column, refused incorporation into the Army and returned to Barcelona in February with their rifles.

These dissident militia members promptly joined Baluis and his comrades who were publishing their criticism of the class collaborationist policies of the CNT leadership in two journals, *Ideas* and *La Noche*. Together, on March 17, 1937, these dissidents launched the Friends of Durruti Group. The group grew quickly. By May the Friends of Durruti had between 4,000 and 5,000 members and was organizing mass rallies and publishing a newspaper, *El Amigo del Pueblo* (The Friend of the People).

In a series of articles both before and after the May Days *El Amigo del Pueblo* articulated the unique political perspective of the Friends of Durruti. There were two main themes: a relentless attack on the collaborationism of the CNT leadership and a call for completing the revolution begun on July 19. They argued that several measures were necessary to carry through the revolution.

One of those measures was the creation of a revolutionary army. Their experiences in the militias fighting on the front against Franco's army had taught them that the loose structure of the militias was inadequate to the demands of war. They understood that the Communists were succeeding in winning support for the Republican Army because the disorganization and lack of discipline in the militias were serious problems that hurt the war effort. While they saw the need for a unified military command and a more disciplined fighting forces they rejected joining a Republican Army under the command of bourgeois officers and committed to a political program of capitalist "democracy."

Instead they proposed the creation of a revolutionary army solidly in the hands of the working-class fighters of the CNT and other workers' organizations. This army would presumably combine the benefits of the militias (election of officers, equality of women and men in arms, commitment to revolutionary aims) with the advantages of an army (the ability to act quickly and decisively in accordance with a larger strategic plan).

They saw the creation of such an army as necessary not only for fighting the fascists but for clearing out the counter-revolutionaries behind their own lines: the bourgeois politicians and the Communist Party that was propping them up.

The Friends of Durruti's proposal was a challenge to the anti-militarist commitments of most of the anarchist movement (though the anarchist Mahknovists had built an army in Ukraine between 1918 and 1921). While anti-militarist principles hadn't prevented the CNT leadership from supporting the creation of the Republican Army and a bourgeois state, they were hypocritically invoked by the same leaders of the CNT to accuse the Friends of Durruti of betraying anarchism.

tion of authoritarianism."

While the Friends of Durruti never settled on the precise process by which the Revolutionary Junta was to be composed they were clear that it was to be a democratic organization of the working class, something akin to the workers councils established in the Russian Revolution and in the uprisings that swept Europe at the end of World War I.

## THE NEED FOR THEORY

The Friends of Durruti saw the main weakness of the anarchist movement as the lack of a coherent theory of revolution. As they saw it:



"Thanks to its militants' class instinct, the CNT not only managed to defeat the army revolt but ensured the success of a proletarian uprising. But when something more than class instinct was required, when the implementation of revolutionary theory was required, everything went to pot. No Revolutionary Theory, No Revolution. And the very protagonists of the success of the workers' uprising were startled to find the revolution slipping from their grasp."

But the Friends of Durruti were not an organization of intellectuals. They were overwhelmingly working-class fighters who had taken the streets in July 1936 and then headed to the front to make war against the fascists. Nonetheless they were able to

*The need to modify theory in the light of actual experiences no more invalidates anarchism than it does any other body of ideas. On the contrary it is the failure to modify ideas in the light of experience that turns once-liberatory ideas into shackles of dogma.*

break not only with the shallow justifications for collaboration put forward by the leaders of the CNT, but also with the doctrinaire anarchism of most of the other anarchist critics of the CNT.

They were not abandoning their commit-



commitment to carry out a revolution, what are the responsibilities of that group? By denying the existence of leadership in the revolutionary process the anarchist leaders of the July 1936 revolution evaded responsibility for their own errors. Even worse they obstructed the ability of future generations to draw the correct conclusions about those errors.

A fundamental weakness of many anarchist analyses of the Spanish revolution is their fixation on the crimes of the Stalinists. Their crimes were certainly considerable, but they were predictable. The experiences of the Russian Revolution were well enough known to anarchists that they should not be allowed to excuse their own mistakes by expressing surprise that the Stalinists acted like Stalinists. Baluis had the courage to hold the anarchist movement responsible for its failure:

"For those culpable for the defeat, we have to look past Stalinism's hired assassins, past the thieves like Prieto, past scum like Negrin (premiers of the Republic-ed.) and past the usual reformists: we bore the guilt for not having it in us to do away with all this riffraff."

Such a course of action however would have required an organization with a program and the rifles to carry it out. The Friends of Durruti understood the need for such an organization, but tragically, their understanding came too late and the time to build such an organization did not exist.

Along with the recent publication of *The Struggle Against the State and Other Essays* by Nestor Mahkno (also from AK Press, \$9.95), Guillamón's book opens up important theoretical questions from the history of anarchism. *The Friends of Durruti Group: 1937-1939* is a thoughtful and provocative analysis of the single most important chapter of anarchist history. It is also a major contribution to the development of a revolutionary anarchist theory for the 21st century and should be read by all serious revolutionaries.★





# Biotech

(Continued from page 10)

deemed "patentable" even though neither of them were genetically engineered because, it was held, their gene line was bred for use in various experiments! There is no longer any limit as to which multicellular organisms are patentable and which are not. Patents on hundreds of other genetically-engineered animals, including transgenic mice, hamsters, rats, hogs, chickens, cattle, sheep and wild animals including fish, are pending.

All of this falls under the rubric of a new global term: "intellectual property rights"; a better name for it would be "genetic colonialism." As a result of these decisions, virtually all living organisms, including human genetic material, have become patentable, just like any other industrial invention. So, Hello-o-o Dolly! Is it any wonder that Dr. Wilmott—supposedly an "objective" scientist—named his successfully cloned sheep (after hundreds of failed attempts and misery for the animals "created") for Dolly Parton after, as he told it, he noticed her "rather large" mammaries? Wilmott then waited months for his patent applications to be granted, keeping the

awarded in 1988 a patent for the DNA sequence of some naturally-occurring chemicals from the Neem tree. Widely-cultivated by peasant communities in India for centuries, the Neem protects crops from pests and is used for various health problems.

"It's ridiculous, just ridiculous," said 75-year-old Dr. Vaidya Satya Pal, from his New Delhi apothecary shop. "People in India have been using the neem tree since the beginning of time, since we learned to make fire. For anybody to say he has a patent on the neem tree, well it only shows, anybody who has the muscle power and the money power, he will snatch whatever he can." Now, the giant conglomerate, recently bought by Monsanto, can demand royalty payments every time someone uses the tree or replants its seeds.

I think that I have never seen  
A tree as lovely as the Neem  
Whose twigs when chewed prevent  
disease,  
Keep bugs away by grinding seeds  
A tree that may in summer wear  
A nest of Vipers in her hair,  
Who folds her leafy arms to pray  
That no one steal her DNA,  
Patent her soul. What sick disgrace  
Would profit W.R. Grace  
And Company? Forgive my rant, O  
But Grace is now owned by Monsanto.

conditions researchers may experiment with cotton molecules, not limited to direct genetic manipulation. The patent also makes it illegal for farmers to save harvested transgenic cotton seed without making payments to the company. Farmers who buy patented seed are thus forced to return to the commercial market to purchase new seed each year, ending the age-old practice of using farm-saved seed.

The same is happening with soybeans (W.R. Grace, now owned by Monsanto); broccoli, cauliflower, cabbage and brussels sprouts (Calgene Inc., now owned by Monsanto); all plants genetically engineered to contain *Bacillus thuringiensis* (Bt) genes, the most widely used source of natural insect resistance, used on organic farms (Plant Genetic Systems); all plants genetically engineered to express higher levels of chitinase, a natural enzyme in plants that wards off fungal disease (DNA Plant Technology); all plants engineered to express super sweet thaumatin genes, which will be used to challenge sugar-growing countries, and sugar as an export crop (Lucky Biotech Corp. & the U. of California); and dozens of other varieties of crops.

New interpretations of patent law give specific companies the rights to all experimentation done on a particular type of crop, regardless of the genes concerned or how

they were transferred. So far, at least 38 different crop species have been genetically engineered and tested in field trials. Already in the laboratory a human gene has been added to salmon, trout, and rice; a chicken gene to potatoes; a fish gene to strawberries; mouse genes into tobacco; and bacteria and virus genes into cucumbers and tomatoes. What will happen to wild species, for example, when carp, salmon, and trout that are twice as large, and eat twice as much food as their wild counterparts are released into the environment? W.R. Grace, Monsanto, Novartis, and four or five other giant pharmaceutical companies are in position to control what is grown on farms throughout the world, and set up tenant farms in which farmers will lease their plants and animals from biotech conglomerates, which will receive royalties on seeds and offspring.

Enter GATT. Historically, intellectual property laws have been largely left to governments, with different nations tailoring their

patent laws to meet their own needs. Most nations chose not to recognize patents on food, pharmaceuticals, or other products that had been developed and used in common over centuries. But, under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, pushed through Congress under the Clinton administration, the US, Japan, Germany and a few other industrialized countries created a global vehicle for "harmonizing" intellectual property rights as a trade issue, bringing everyone else's laws in line with theirs. Consequently, all GATT signatories are now obligated to "adopt minimum intellectual property standards" for plants and microorganisms that had previously been seen as "not patentable" and part of the collective Commons, opening up vast regions of daily life to foreign commercial exploitation and plunder.

Environmental and indigenous rights activists all over the world are viewing all of these developments not just as "capitalism as usual, what else is new?" but as A CALL TO ARMS. Mainstream politicians too often have received the support of progressives, of the left, of AIDS and cancer activists, in demanding "more" genetically-engineered drugs as though Science and Industry's pretense of objectivity is anything more than an elaborate pretense, in this society, for the rationalization of violence. On March 1, 1995, in what one activist called "a historic victory of ethical considerations over commercial profit," the European Parliament solidly rejected legislation to introduce common standards for the patenting of new plants and genetically engineered animals. The temporary defeat of the biotech industry's legislation means that each member nation must rely upon its own laws regarding the patenting of life. That means that we can FIGHT over all of this, make Monsanto and the other corporations and government lackeys pay for the terrible crimes they're committing against people all over the world, the poisoning of the planet.

The legislative defeat in Europe was a severe blow to the biotech industry and a stunning achievement for the Green Party, which led the opposition in the European parliament, and for thousands of activists who have taken direct action over the years, breaking into pharmaceutical company property and tearing up genetically engineered strawberries, soybeans, and other crops, dumping genetically-engineered milk, and breaking into labs where genetic engineering research is taking place, "liberating" files and animals, and the like. This October, the Pure Food Campaign has called for global actions against genetically engineered agricultural products. It's an opportunity for anarchists and other radical activists to take on this struggle in as serious a way as fighting to free Mumia Abu-Jamal, or against the Gulf War. In fact, they are all intricately related.

Support and plan your own actions against Monsanto, et al., this October. Bring the monster down.★

For more information on the October actions against genetic engineering, contact the Pure Food Campaign: (218) 226-4155 purefood@aol.com



blessed event secret until he was successful in establishing legal "ownership" of the new living being.

## NEEM YOUR POISON

In a decision that has sparked tremendous resistance in India and become a rallying cry for anti-genetic engineering activists around the world, the W.R. Grace Co. was

W.R. Grace is offering peasants \$300 per ton of Neem seeds in an attempt to create a shortage and force India's farmers—in classic colonial fashion—to rely solely on Grace's product.

The same company was also awarded the first ever "species patent" for transgenic cotton seed. This gives a single corporation the right to decide when and if to license its technology, for how much, and under what

# Oklahoma Bombing

(Continued from page 13)

is not an active subject of their investigation!

With this in mind, what is one to make of the excerpt from agent Finley's field notes, dated January 1, 1995? "Howe relates that, 'During the Sabbath meeting Millar gave a sermon soliciting violence against the United States government. He brought forth his soldiers and instructed them to take whatever actions necessary against the United States government.'" [36]

Was the Murrah building bombing "necessary" in order to exact vengeance for Waco and Richard Snell? The key to the mystery of what role Millar played may hinge on when the FBI "turned" him. If he was an informant before the blast, Millar may have been a provocateur for his FBI handlers. If he became a snitch after the blast, Millar may be covering for others—his own granddaughter and her new husband perhaps, convicted Aryan Republican Army bank robber, Michael Brescia—Herr Strassmeir's Elohim City roommate!

And who were "the soldiers" Rev. Millar "brought forth"? Though the FBI claims to have interviewed more than 20,000 people during its investigation, the bureau has yet

to speak with one "soldier," the man whom British immigration officials called a terrorist when they barred him entry into Britain—Dennis Mahon. Last week he refused to testify before the Oklahoma grand jury. Claiming his rights under the fifth amendment, Mahon said that he won't talk without immunity. Reporters wryly noted Mahon didn't provide details of what he needed immunity from. [37]

And so we come full circle. In the two intervening years since the deadly blast,



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# Workfare

(Continued from page 1)

"join with our brothers and sisters in a struggle for an end to poverty and toward a just society." This modern-day underground railroad pledges all kinds of aid to today's often dangerous struggle against poverty, aid that does sometimes come anonymously or under cover as it did during slavery.

Empty the Shelters, a Philadelphia-based organization of young people working to end poverty, works with KWRU to rally young people through community organizing projects and internships that are designed to help build the anti-poverty movement. Empty the Shelters is sponsoring a "Summer of Social Action" that in addition to the march to the UN, includes a three week "It's about Power, not Pity" organizing summer camp on poverty issues.

KWRU is hoping to build the movement against welfare reform in New York and New Jersey as well as nationally, according to Jenny Cox, a student participant in the march. "We made lots of contacts along the way," she said. The marchers relied on support from churches and community groups in New Jersey and New York, some of whom joined the march and walked part of the way to New York City.

Marchers dealt with 95 degree weather and sore feet by sticking together and helping each other out. The group was an inspiring sight at the UN rally, in their battle fatigues and march t-shirts, and their energy spread through the crowd.

## POOR PEOPLE'S EMBASSY PROJECT

KWRU's Poor People's Embassy project presented a report of human rights abuses, focusing on violations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was signed by the United States in 1948. Welfare reform laws attack the right to work under decent conditions and for a living wage, the right to form unions, a standard of living adequate for health and well-being, a safety net for the survival of poor people, and social protection for all children regardless of whether their mothers are married or not. This human rights documentation project is ongoing; KWRU is still looking for more testimony from around the US. They will present this testimony at a United Nations tribunal, and ultimately bring these violations in the wealthiest nation in the world to the international discussion of human rights in the UN and then in the World Court.

KWRU cites six cases in its Poor People's Embassy report. In New York City, homeless children have been starving while their mothers appeal for temporary housing. Families must wait inside the Emergency Assistance Unit, and food is not allowed inside. In Pembroke, Massachusetts, a terminally-ill mother committed suicide while her family was being evicted from their home. In Willows, California, a Vietnamese immigrant died of a heart attack after learning he would be cut off from SSI, a program to assist the elderly and disabled poor. A New York City workfare worker, Marsha Motipersad, died of a heart attack on the job. She had stopped working three years before because of her heart disease, but the city required her to participate in its workfare program anyway.

## WORKFARE IN NEW YORK CITY

New York City's workfare program, called WEP (Work Experience Program), is by far the largest in the country, with over 37,000 workers. Programs like it are growing or being started all over the country, to comply with the federal Personal Responsibility Act. So far, WEP has succeeded in creating a two-tiered system of employment in which poor single adults, including mothers of small children, are forced to do hard labor without the protections of their wages, hours, health and safety that other workers have won, because they are defined as welfare recipients or "workfare participants," not as workers. Despite pledges to the contrary, WEP workers have been used to fill recently-eliminated city jobs, and their slave labor brings down the wages of all workers.

New York City's District Council 37 (the municipal employees' union) and Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN), in separate campaigns, are trying to get the city to recognize a union of WEP workers. But the city's Office of Collective Bargaining has stated

that WEP workers are not employees and therefore cannot form a union.

The city has ignored a White House ruling that welfare recipients who work must be paid minimum wage and are covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act and occupational health and safety and anti-discrimination protections. The city has appealed a New York State ruling that WEP workers are entitled to the wages paid to regular employees for the same work.

## FIGHTING WORKFARE IN NYC

WEP Workers Together! (WWT!), is a coalition of three community organizations and is led by welfare recipients. WWT! is struggling for better working conditions for WEP workers who are forced to work off their welfare benefits of less than \$500 a month while suffering discrimination and being exposed to serious health hazards.

On June 16, WEP workers in WWT! set up a impromptu day care center at the office of NYC's welfare commissioner to protest the dangerous and illegal lack of childcare. Moms and dads with strollers, balloons and a crowd of excited kids forced the commissioner to meet with them and discuss what was then an imminent crisis in childcare. School would soon be out for summer and the city had made no childcare provision for the 25,000 parents assigned "jobs" through WEP. Violating their own welfare laws, the city told parents to find "informal" childcare on their own with a maximum subsidy of \$40 per week. WWT! reminded the commissioner that many of these folks the city is trying to put to work already have their hands full with the labor of raising their families. The bipartisan rhetoric of traditional family values applies unevenly across class lines: for middle and upper-class women it means staying home with the brood, but for poor and working class women, it means lowering birth rates and getting out into the work force.

## STUDENTS ON WELFARE ORGANIZE

On another front, the City University of New York has lost over 9,000 students to WEP. Attending a four-year college is not considered "work," even though it is often the only hope people have of ever getting a decent job. Telling your caseworker that you can't miss class is not considered a good enough excuse. Students from La Guardia Community College in Queens organized a recent rally and speak-out at City Hall, representing the growing number of CUNY students forming groups in outrage at the city's policy.

A State Supreme Court judge ruled in June that students cannot be forced to do WEP if it interferes with their classes, but the city has yet to change its policy. Only students who are aware of the ruling when they go to see their caseworkers can avoid being forced out of school. This points to the need for more organization and resistance both on campus and off, so people can know their rights and stand up for them.

A recent study of New York's WEP program put out by the Community Food Resource Center (CFRC) reveals that WEP actually has the lowest success rate of any job preparation or training program ever run by the city or state of New York; the rate of moving from welfare to work is now lower than it has been in previous years. In a February 1997 report, Mayor Giuliani claimed that 18.5% of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) recipients and 15.1% of Home Relief (HR) recipients who were "called in" to workfare assignments have found jobs. He neglects to mention that this statistic represents not folks who actually got jobs, but anyone whose case was closed for any reason—such as failure to meet administrative requirements, or even death! If welfare recipients don't comply with all the WEP program's rules (i.e. if they have an undocumented absence, or fail to work all their hours or just if their supervisor says so) they face sanctions that cause them to lose benefits—90 days for the first infraction, 120 days for the second and 180 days for the third. After the third, the person's case is permanently closed. At the very least, WEP is doing a good job of reducing the welfare rolls.

With no chance at a college education and no public assistance, poor people are worse off after WEP is through with them. They are forced to take any job, at any pay, under any conditions, no matter what might happen to their kids.

According to Mildred Bengoshay, an organizer for the Fifth Avenue Committee (a sponsoring organization of WWT!), these sanctions are one thing that make it incredibly difficult to organize WEP workers.



Since welfare is their income of last resort, the threat of sanctions takes on an extra weight. And because the city has managed to make the WEP program immune to all labor laws, agitators often don't have a leg to stand on.

In addition to agitation among recipients, solidarity actions, legal challenges and education, a campaign is building to gather signatures to a pledge against workfare on the part of social service and nonprofit agencies that are slated to provide 10,000 WEP assignments in 1997-98. Some oppose the pledge campaign on the grounds that the nonprofits provide better training and work environments than the city departments of sanitation and parks, where most WEP workers toil. And for students, the option of fulfilling their WEP assignments on campus is appealing. But the problems in the nonprofit realm are identical. Dependent on public funding, most of these agencies have recently downsized and offer no better chances of job placement to WEP workers (CFRC cites a figure of 1.67%). And free labor for nonprofits will only displace workers and lower wages in this sector as it is doing the public sector. The city soon plans to offer WEP workers to private companies.

In New York, movement against welfare reform and workfare is scattered and has yet to cohere. There's been a sense for quite a while that something is about to give. At the very least, in the various pockets of struggle for concessions from the state, we see leadership among poor people (who are almost universally despised in this country) building, and with it, a certain momentum...

The March for Our Lives was an inspiration to New Yorkers organizing against WEP and welfare cuts. Poor people everywhere can learn from the guts and determination of the Kensington Welfare Rights Union.

KWRU, along with the Annie Smart Leadership Development Institute, is holding a national training institute for the anti-poverty movement, *The Next Step*, September 5-7, 1997. Poor and homeless leaders in the KWRU and other organizations will teach the model used by KWRU, of the poor organizing the poor to build a movement to end poverty in this country.★

Kensington Welfare Rights Union  
PO Box 50678  
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Gateway to Cascadia Free State, Willamette National Forest, in what's commonly called Oregon.

# Forest Defense

(Continued from page 11)

an eleven-month road blockade and encampment in the Willamette National Forest in west-central Oregon, near Eugene. From days after the Warner Creek Fire Salvage sale was released under the Salvage Rider, in September 1995, until August 1996, forest activists maintained a community of resistance known as Cascadia Free State. People hiked seven miles on snowshoes to maintain the camp over the winter. A wall of vertical poles, a moat and drawbridge, a communal kitchen, and miles of trenches and gorges in the road leading to the sale created a stunning visual effect. A dozen separate lockdown sites were built with concrete, barrels, pick axes and PVC pipes, where people could clip their wrists vertically into the road.

Cascadia is our bioregion. It encompasses the watersheds that drain from the Western slopes of the Cascade Mountains to the Pacific Ocean, but it has taken on a new significance in our lives. We built Free State on a basis of community, solidarity, mutual aid, and vision. When it was busted by the Forest Service, four Cascadians locked down and after a grueling day of mental manipulation under a blazing sun with no water or food, they unlocked and were literally dragged into jail in Eugene.

Dozens of Cascadians came to their arraignment the next Monday, and when refused entry they raised what came to be known as "the fruckus"—a militant frolic in the lobby of the courthouse. When the

police began to react, the supporters sat down and linked arms. Thirty-nine people were hauled from the lobby right into jail, with the help of pain compliance holds and an electric stun gun. After five days in jail, a handful of vigilant defenders refused to leave until Clinton stopped the Warner Creek sale. Miraculously, days later, the Administration announced that the sale was canceled and Thomas Creek Lumber would have to sell it back to the Federal Government.

In the big picture, we see our tactics and message slowly pushing at walls of misinformation, corporate anonymity and governmental corruption. We believe that our methods are radical enough to bring attention to the issues, yet mild enough to not be completely dissed by mainstream media.

We are opposing injustice, and struggling to retain autonomy and diversity, not only in the forest, but in our own lives and in the lives of humans all over the planet. Ultimately, we see all struggles as social; it is only with the transformation of human consciousness that life will be sustained, and so social change is our project. We are all on the frontlines of this struggle.★

To get involved with Northwest public lands forest defense contact: Cascadia Forest Defenders in Eugene, Oregon 541-343-7305

To contact Earth First! write call or email:  
PO Box 7941 Missoula Montana USA 59807  
406-728-0867 phone & fax  
cmcr@wildrockies.org



# Haiti

(Continued from page 1)

Jean-Bertrande Aristide, a popular priest known for his denunciations of Haitian dictators and their US backers, was elected President by a landslide, defeating the US-backed candidate, Marc Bazin. Aristide had come to prominence through the popular coalition of opposition forces known as the Lavalas Movement. Despite this defeat, the US was willing to work with Aristide, realizing that in an increasingly global economy and with the power of the IMF and World Bank, Aristide would have little choice but to comply with US demands. However, the US's allies within Haiti, the rich landowners and the military, could not accept Aristide, and in September of 1991 they staged a successful coup that overthrew him. The US, while not happy with the coup, decided to wait and see if they could work with it. But the regime was so brutal and so universally despised by the Haitian people that economic and political stability was impossible. A civil war seemed imminent.

The US put pressure on the militarily-installed Haitian government to accept Aristide as a figurehead to pacify the people. In 1994 under the guise of a "democratic intervention" supported by the United Nations, the United States invaded Haiti once again to protect its own interests.

## THE LAVALAS COALITION DISINTEGRATES

Recently, the mass movement Lavalas (literally "the torrent") that brought Aristide to power with record-breaking electoral turnout has split into two main factions. When the United States reinstated Aristide as President it was under the condition that he steps down at the end of his term, even though he had been in exile for three of the years he was supposed to serve. While in office, Aristide disbanded the brutal and corrupt national army, jailed many of the Ton Ton Macoutes, and created a national police force that would theoretically be accountable to the masses of Haitian people. As president he never spoke openly against the US/World Bank economic plans for Haiti, but also took no steps to implement them.

His successor, René Preval, is attempting to march full steam ahead with the US/World Bank economic plans, but has met with mass resistance from the Haitian people. This resistance has manifested itself

in demonstrations, strikes and record low turn-outs at the polls. Only 28 percent of the population turned out to elect Preval in contrast to the 85 percent who elected Aristide. Preval's Prime Minister, Rosny Smarth, resigned on June 9, stating that he had been unable to do the job he had been assigned, namely implement economic austerity plans, because of the resistance of the Haitian people. In addition, elections that were supposed to be held in March have been postponed twice. If and when an election does happen, turnout is expected to hit an all-time low.

Meanwhile, US troops, under the auspices of the UN, whose role in Haiti is supposedly "humanitarian," have been used to put down rebellions and have allowed the Ton Ton Macoutes and the national army to regroup and continue their brutal treatment of civilians. The National Police Force formed by Aristide has also come under fire for rampant brutality, most recently for its violent response to peaceful protesters during the teacher's strike.

Amidst this chaos, Aristide has left the Lavalas Coalition and formed a new party called the Lavalas Family. No longer president, Aristide has expressed vocal opposition to the economic austerity plans and has accused others in the coalition of being traitors and fixing elections. While those in Lavalas trade attacks, traditional parties have used the breakdown in Lavalas to call for a new government.

## NEOLIBERALISM HARD AT WORK DESTROYING PEOPLE'S LIVES

Neoliberalism is the term used to describe this latest stage of capitalism. It is defined by reduced restrictions on international investment and trade, severe cuts in social spending, and an attack on wages, job security and working conditions.

In Haiti, part of the neoliberal austerity plan is to privatize government-run industries. FDH, the state-run electric company, and Teleco, the state-run phone company are both slated to be privatized and sold to US-owned corporations. Profits that these companies now make would no longer go to the government but to private companies outside of Haiti. The IMF is pushing the government's central bank to deny the state companies credit and to use Macoutes to brutally break up unions. Privatization plans include the firing of 7,000 out of 43,000 government workers. Some Haitians

see the refusal of the government to pay school teachers as part of a plan to privatize the public education system as well.

Another part of the neoliberal austerity plan is to make the Haitian economy totally dependent on outside aid and loans. At a mass meeting in June, Aristide attacked the dependence on foreign loans that would only continue Haiti's reliance on outsiders. "What do they tell you? 'Go quietly so you can get aid.' What kind of aid is it? It's credit...It is a question of giving you credit so I can get back my interest." For a country as poor as Haiti, paying off interest on loans will keep it forever at the mercy of the World Bank's economic whims.

US aid to Haiti is given a compassionate face in the US press. A June 4 New York Times article with the innocuous headline "US Support Group Extends Haiti Mission" reports that "The support group mostly trains military units in Haiti and provides medical care to United Nations personnel. It has also built roads and renovated schools, provided training to the Haitian Coast Guard and helped in drug interdiction efforts." In reality however, US aid that doesn't go to the armed forces manifests itself in examples like an unfinished road built by US soldiers with a \$5.5 million World Bank loan and a bridge (\$500,000) that is totally useless unless the government displaces hundreds of destitute families in an impoverished area known as Cité Soleil. If displaced, they will undoubtedly join hundreds of

other homeless Cité Soleil families whose huts were burned down in an arson attack in December of 1993 by the FRAPH, a CIA-backed paramilitary terrorist group.

US policies in Haiti have helped keep Haitians living in misery almost two centuries. As a result, in Haiti today, life expectancy is about 42 years. Fifteen percent of all children die before their first birthday. Eighty percent of the people are illiterate and 50 percent are unemployed. The majority of Haitians rightly see US intervention as the cause of their misery, not the solution. They want Haiti to be left alone to sort out its own problems, not to be "helped" by those who have historically oppressed and impoverished them. As one peasant woman stated, "We are against the occupation [by UN troops]. We cannot be in agreement with the fact that if we need something, we have to get it from someone from another country... We are fighting for change. But you support a president, you vote for him, you send him up, and tomorrow he becomes a club to beat the people!" ★

Much of the information for this article was taken from the *Haitian Info*, a biweekly newsletter published by the Haitian Information Bureau. To subscribe to *Haitian Info* contact:

Haitian Information Bureau  
c/o Lynx Air, PO Box 407139  
Ft. Lauderdale, FL 33340 USA



# Geronimo

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well known in the years since [Pratt's] trial that judges now almost always specially instruct a jury on the subject." Pratt has always maintained his innocence but has had each of his four calls for a new trial and many appeals denied even though some members from the original jury have reversed their decision.

Pratt's lawyers were surprised and ecstatic with his release. The FBI was very aware of Pratt's innocence because at the time of

Olsen's murder he was under surveillance at a BPP meeting in Oakland over 400 miles away from the scene of the crime. Retired FBI agent Wesley Searingen has even made a public statement admitting this fact. Records of the FBI's surveillance were coincidentally destroyed. Around the time of Pratt's trial there were internal divisions in the BPP which FBI infiltrators aggravated. As a result of the internal strife, Pratt was expelled from the BPP previous to his trial. During his trial, Minister of Defense and Panther leader Huey P. Newton forbade any one to testify on Pratt's behalf. In 1992 two former BPP members, Bobby Seale and David Hilliard, gave sworn testimony that Pratt was at a BPP meeting on the day of

the killing. The prosecution has filed a motion to appeal Dickey's ruling but they don't have a leg to stand on. The new information submitted to the court has confirmed what others have known from the beginning—Pratt could not have possibly committed the crime of which he was convicted. In addition, Pratt has already served an unusually long sentence for this crime.

## PRATT—PRISONER OF WAR

Pratt was a Prisoner Of War rather than a Political Prisoner because the government had waged war against the Black Panther Party and several other activist organizations through their COINTELPRO operation. (The Counter Intelligence Program, founded by J. Edgar Hoover, infiltrated, disrupted and imprisoned numerous movements and activists including the BPP and the American Indian Movement. Even though the program officially ended on April 27, 1971, repression of this sort continues today albeit under a different name or no name at all.)

"We are actually prisoners of that war," he said. "My belief is that J. Edgar Hoover sent a directive for his agents to cripple, neutralize the Panthers," Pratt said. "I was personally targeted." Pratt was Deputy Minister of Defense for the Southern California chapter of the Black Panthers. It is clear that Pratt was singled out by the FBI due to the number of times Pratt faced trumped up charges and by the attacks on Pratt's house and the Panther's Los Angeles office.

At the attack on his house his wife at the time, Sandra Pratt, who was pregnant, was murdered by police. At the four-hour attack on the BPP's Los Angeles office no one was seriously injured because Pratt, who knew the dangers of government repression, had heavily fortified the office. BPP offices across the country were assaulted including offices in Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Haven, Jersey City, Detroit, Chicago, Denver, Omaha, Sacramento, San Diego, and Los Angeles. Pratt, in the time period before his conviction, was routinely harassed by the state.

Pratt, for the first 8 years of his incarceration, was held in solitary confinement, a practice routinely used to break political prisoners and POWs. Pratt, a decorated Vietnam Vet who earned a Silver Star, two Bronze Stars and two Purple Hearts in combat, said that the time he served in Vietnam helped him get through this "torturous situation" in prison.

## THE LONG ROAD AHEAD

The struggle also continues for other members of the BPP and members of other groups involved in revolutionary activity that are still imprisoned. These people include Mumia Abu Jamal, Ruchell Cinque Magee, Hugo L.A. Pinell (Yogi), Marshall Eddie Conway, Jamil Montaguin, A. Nuh Washington, Sylvia Baraldini, Herman Bell, Sundiata Acoli, Marilyn Buck and many others that are still wrongly imprisoned. "You have political prisoners on top of political prisoners," Pratt said. "I'm only one of a great many that should be addressed." Movements have a responsibility not to leave their soldiers behind and to continue the struggles that they fight for. Pratt's release brings us one step closer to this end. We must search for ways to apply more pressure on those who are responsible for the incarceration of political prisoners, POW's and social prisoners. ★



Geronimo ji jaga Pratt speaking in July at an event in Philadelphia celebrating his freedom



# Social Democrats Rule?

(Continued from page 3)

can interpret the laws so as to gut any progressive legislation, and in the US the courts can declare laws unconstitutional. In the US, the system was deliberately designed by a group of brilliant rich white men, merchants and slave owners (the Founding Fathers). They aimed both to prevent the rise of a king or dictator and to prevent the people from interfering with their profit system. They knew exactly what they were doing when they wrote the Constitution.

Besides the formal system, all patriarchal-capitalist democracies have huge bureaucracies which do the real work of government while the politicians come and go. These include the "regulatory agencies" which are really agents of big business within the state. They are "the permanent government" and can stymie any good laws. Finally, there are the police, the prisons, the secret services, and the military—the real core of the state as a state. It is up to this repressive apparatus to enforce the laws—or to not enforce the laws—or to enforce them as they see fit. It is an unreliable defender even of capitalist democracy. To believe that the police and military would implement socialist democracy is absurd.

The second error of Social Democracy is to believe that the capitalists are neutral. That is, that big business people would stand by and allow their wealth and power to be destroyed peacefully through elections. From the beginning they influence elections through the media of TV and newspapers. This is not merely a matter of endorsements or even of how they present candidates. By controlling the media, they control how the issues are presented, what is part of the acceptable range of opinion and what is ignored (radical alternatives). Then, with their money they bankroll the candidates of their choice.

Once elected, a Socialist politician has to deal with the fact that the state, in a capitalist democracy, does not control the economy. In bad times, there is very little it can do to boost the economy. In good times, the big capitalists may deliberately choose to sabotage Socialist policies. They can create a "capital strike" or "capital flight." That is, they may stop investment within the country, close down industries and spread unemployment, while investing their money abroad. The French capitalists did just this at the beginning of the last Socialist government—until the Socialists abandoned their reform program and implemented a conservative attack on the people. That the British and French business people are not doing this after the recent elections shows that they do not feel threatened by the current Labor or Socialist administrations.

But what if a Socialist government did threaten the capitalists? What if big business resisted and the Socialists responded by nationalizing industries or even by turning industries over to the workers to run? Or what if the Socialists merely insisted on fighting for reforms when the economy had nothing to give?

Then the Right would not feel bound by democratic legalities. The military and police would prepare a coup. The extralegal Right, the fascists, would suddenly get big bucks from the capitalists, enabling them to expand. The "respectable" Right would mount an hysterical campaign against the "loss" of racial and sexual privileges by native white men. Elections would be canceled. Socialist candidates would be assaulted. A dictatorship would be installed for an indefinite period.

This is no fantasy. It is exactly what happened when the fascists took power in Italy, Germany, Spain, and elsewhere in the 1930s. It is what happened in Chile in the 1970s and in other Latin American and "Third World" countries.

## THE FAILURE OF MARXISM

It is such pressures which have turned the once-mighty European Social Democrats into toothless agents of the ruling classes. Usually, when people speak of the "crisis of Marxism" (or, more broadly, of state socialism), they think of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the turn of China to an openly market economy. But there was an earlier crisis, namely that of Social Democracy, which began as revolutionary Marxist (except in Britain). Then when World War I broke out in 1914, most of the Social Democratic parties backed their own imperialist-militarist states, abandoning internationalism. They have since quit all pretense of wanting a different sort of society. They are merely mild liberals or even mild conservatives. (The Leninists broke with the Social Democrats in order to attempt, once again, to build a revolutionary Marxism—with what result we know.)

The elections in Britain and France reflect a world-wide phenomenon, a turning point—however moderate—of the people against the neoliberal attack on their lives and living conditions. It includes the defeat of many Republicans in the last US Congressional elections, the election of a moderate clergyman in Iran, the revolution in the Congo, and the election of Cárdenas as mayor of Mexico City and the losses suffered by the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), who have run Mexico as a one-party state for 70 years. The elections, and even the Congolese rebellion, do not change anything basic, but they reflect a change in popular attitude, a slight opening to the Left, and a hope of increased popular struggle.

The French began to show the way, when they fought the Right with strikes and militant demonstrations by workers in several industries, by farmers, by students, and by immigrants. Without this popular resistance, there would have been no early election, no defeat of the conservatives, and no election of the Socialists. Let us hope that these start up again once the Socialists show their inability to solve anything. The people's problems will not be solved by electing someone to "represent" us, to be political "for" us. People will have to take power into their own hands and build a new society without a state.★



Ruling class split: CUNY Board Vice Chair Herman Badillo and ex-Chancellor Ann Reynolds together in June before Reynolds was driven out of her position in internal struggle over how fast to dismantle open admissions

## Hostos

(Continued from page 7)

budget cuts, where 20,000 students rallied and dozens were arrested after cops attacked the demonstration. Reynolds was brought in as chancellor in 1991 on the heels of the historic building takeovers and successful student actions against tuition hikes at CUNY in 1989 and 1991. Reynolds quickly fired administrators who supported students, and created the SAFE team, a CUNY-wide police force to spy on and bust up student protests. Paolucci and Badillo, now heading a majority on the board, finally pushed out Reynolds in July and will surely bring in a new chancellor who is even more odious and compliant. They have grown impatient with Reynolds' effective but slow piece-by-piece strategy of dismantling open admissions.

Almost yearly since 1976, both Democrats and Republicans in the state-house and mayor's office have pushed through serious budget cuts, cut remedial classes, and raised tuition. For Pataki and Guillian to then turn around and attack students for not being prepared and for taking a long time to graduate is the ultimate in cynicism. They are now using the supposedly "low educational standards" caused by their budget cuts as a pretext to further cut CUNY's budget, and to decimate the remedial classes and community colleges. The effect will be a stake through the heart of open admissions at CUNY.

The only way to stop this from happening is to organize a mass student movement to regain free tuition and open admissions for all New York City residents. Since 1969 this has been dismembered piece by piece. Today, CUNY students have an uphill battle to even win back what was won before, let alone create a university system which truly serves the people and is democratically controlled by the students, faculty and workers.

## THE STUDENT RESPONSE AT HOSTOS

Student leaders at Hostos responded immediately when the Trustees announced the 11th hour rule change. Yamille Mendez, president of the Hostos Student Government Organization (SGO) immediately sent out information to all other CUNY student governments to mobilize support. Hostos SGO members met with other CUNY activists, including Student Liberation Action Movement (SLAM!), CUNY's radical student activist organization that primarily organized this spring's campaign against the budget cuts and tuition increase.

Mendez, along with Hostos student Miguel Castillo (who did not pass the CWAT test), filed a lawsuit on May 30 against CUNY, the Board of Trustees, Chancellor Reynolds, Hostos, and Badillo and Paolucci. On July 14 the judge ruled in their favor, allowing the 129 students held in limbo to graduate. The judge condemned CUNY's hasty efforts to impose new graduation criteria retroactively as "arbitrary and capricious, and in the present case must be held to be undertaken in bad faith ... The obvious unfairness in changing the degree requirements immediately before graduation is manifest."

Rather than letting it go at that, CUNY immediately appealed the ruling. This

means the students will still not get their degrees unless they win again at the next level. And if the students lose that case, they will have to come up with \$20,000 to cover CUNY's legal costs. CUNY is holding these students' future hostage for daring to challenge them.

The students' lawyer, Ron McGuire, is representing them for free. McGuire, a graduate of City College, is an activist lawyer whose work in court is a tremendous asset to the CUNY student movement. But as he himself always emphasizes, students can't build a movement just through lawsuits. We have to do broad outreach to make sure every student understands what's going on, and then build large, creative and militant student resistance. And we have to mobilize community support.

It is always difficult to mobilize students during the summer, so it is understandable that the Hostos SGO chose to pursue a lawsuit rather than mass activism at the end of the spring semester. Hopefully the incoming student government will lead a mass campus and community mobilization in the fall. The prospects for this look good: there are many activists in Hostos incoming student government. As incoming SGO president Julio Alcantrara was quoted in the May 29 New York Times, "We are definitely very angry. We do not want to remain quiet and will do no matter what to maintain Hostos's mission to be a college in the community serving students like me who do not know English."

What Alcantrara articulated is what all CUNY students need to fight for on our campuses and in our communities this fall. It is our only hope of winning back CUNY to its mission to serve the people.★

*A Look at Leninism* is a book by Ron Taber that exposes the authoritarian core of Leninism. Taber's critique is a valuable weapon in the hand of all revolutionary anti-authoritarians. Originally written as a series of articles, *A Look at Leninism* introduces the reader to the key concepts of Leninism and then demolishes the claims of Leninism as an ideology of liberation.

*A Look at Leninism* was the declaration of Taber's complete break with Leninism, and set the stage for his subsequent series of articles in *Love & Rage* critiquing Marxism.

*A Look at Leninism* is available for \$5.00 from:

Love & Rage  
PO Box 853  
Stuyvesant Station  
New York, NY  
10009



France's new "Socialist" Premier Lionel Jospin expresses glee at getting to run a major imperialist nation.



# LETTERS TO LOVE AND RAGE

(Continued from page 2)

and failed to further debate.

Kieran singles out my report on our discussion of leadership (which I'm convinced I took from the conference notes). The word leadership implies an elite, privileged position. Many communist groups believe themselves to be leaders, the vanguard and representatives or voice of the people. This is exactly what we as anarchists despise: the replacement of one elite by another. And so maybe we need to throw out the word leadership? Let's face it, some terms ("proletarian" for one, in my opinion) are beyond salvation.

A consistent failing of anarchists is their inclination to take a hands-off approach to history out of fear of being authoritarian. And anarchist ideas have therefore been overshadowed and crushed by those who have no qualms forging ahead. This has happened historically and to us in recent times.

I agree that we participate in movements to teach and to learn. In doing so, though, we argue for our politics—a politics I described in shorthand in the article as "power to the people." To "argue and fight for our revolutionary anarchist perspective," as you put it, is to act as a leader, in the sense I was thinking. Any time you put forward your ideas, or argue for them, you act as a leader. That's not to say that we don't have lots to learn from everyone with whom we are in struggle. I think that we have learned and will learn quite a bit, and that this will in fact change our ideas, our strategies and our tactics. I find this willingness to learn and to change to be one of the primary strengths of Love and Rage.

We need to acknowledge the ways in which we are looked to as leaders, so that we can take responsibility for this and do it in a non-authoritarian way: sharing skills, encouraging leadership in others, being willing to be wrong, etc. I want there to be movements led by the people, this is something we are going to have to fight for, i.e. lead toward.

In Hope,

Laura Schere

## MAKE GOOD ON CLAIM TO FIGHT WHITE SUPREMACY

Love and Rage,

A few brief comments on "Building a Multi-Racial / Multi-National Revolutionary Anarchist Organization":

It isn't enough to simply proclaim your commitment to ending racism and white

supremacy and then begin attempts at recruiting workers of color. Love and Rage must be able to empower the most directly oppressed amongst your ranks. You must have a solid analysis of race and class. One that is relevant to the most directly oppressed, along with a practical program of action that uplifts communities of color politically, culturally, and economically, and assists directly in the process of bringing white workers out of learned reactionary beliefs and behaviors.

This means that as a precursor to any recruitment of workers of color, or any expectation of a principled relationship with any individual worker of color, L&R must actively combat the social, cultural, and economic privilege associated with being white (and male) in amerikkka, and the backward ideas and strategies that come from that perspective of relative privilege. If you fail to do this as individuals, L&R as an organization is guaranteed to fail in this as a group; if you fail to do this as an organization, then you are guaranteed to be ruthlessly criticized and rejected by those you seek to recruit to your organization (and the movement generally), no matter what color they are or their class of origin.

Indeed, with some of the poorer, less educated sections of our population you may even face physical violence; not due to just having bad ideas and/or rhetoric alone, but because the individual in front of you sees that you have more than him or her, and decides to take their reparations out of your hide because it serves their immediate material interests. As the saying goes, "you can't organize an empty belly."

I personally discourage people of color from joining all-white organizations, unless those workers join as a sizable group (that is already organized at some level amongst themselves), the organization upholds the concepts of reparations and self-determination in practice, the organization already has an established relationship with whatever oppressed community those activists come from, and people of color in the organization are allowed to create independent, ideologically parallel organizations or caucuses within the larger body with unconditional material support from the larger group ("...from each according to ability, to each according to need..."). While I can work with Love and Rage (we work especially close with the Olympia, WA, chapter of L&R; they have been extremely helpful to us and I personally appreciate that), I do not see the benefit of joining or merging with L&R; especially in light of the criticisms made in Lorenzo Kombo Ervin's article "A Ball of Confusion." [This is a document Ervin wrote upon resigning from Love & Rage after the Federation Council

meeting in January 1994. —the Production Group]

It's not about "integration" or "segregation," it's about POWER: who has it and who does not. Both ideas, formulated into programs, have successfully divided and disempowered all classes within the Black community because both were initiated and managed by a hostile class from a hostile culture. Even those who claimed to be "supportive" of our struggle in fact showed themselves to be hostile to the broad masses of our people because they were only supportive as long as that support translated into building their power (and that of their organization, and/or the state itself) over the people. The people didn't "self-determine" all of that (except by their own ignorance and/or inexperience), our so-called "allies" did. With friends like that, who needs enemies?!

Whoever controls the resources, controls the direction of the organization and its politics. More often than not, it's the so-called "minorities" who wind up getting their programs underfunded or cut, wind up getting themselves purged out of the organization, or wind up leaving after a big blow up with the leadership and/or membership because more often than not, it's the white majority who controls the resources (and the politics); along with whoever or whatever they have aligned themselves with outside the organization: from mainstream political parties, to the church, to Zionists, to pseudo-Marxist (or pseudo-anarchist) "left-wing" white supremacist organizations.

It makes sense that white activists would want their organizations to be as "diverse" as possible, due to the need to teach their own people the evils of segregation and to prevent those practices from resurfacing. But let's deal with substance, not lofty moral arguments or wishful thinking around race relations.

The act or intent of keeping a people from sustaining themselves or growing through segregationist (or integrationist) policies, utilized through state power or numerical power within an organization (of any size), that's what must be organized against. Moral arguments are secondary, and are based upon the day to day practices and struggles that come out of fighting racism in a real way in everyday life, not just in isolated local issues, national organizing campaigns, armchair polemics with other radicals, or by holding hands in a circle and singing "We Shall Overcome."

Morals are rooted in class interests and cultural traditions, which means that in order to be "moral," you must have knowledge of yourself, your class (and its relation to other social forces), and your community (and the surrounding communities and their social forces and how all of that relates). All of that comes into play when one is seriously fighting racism, or when one is seriously fighting any form of oppression. Morals change as the form of the fight changes, they either improve or worsen (context is important; as well as who is determining what "improvement" is).

In addition, morals have to be both taught and enforced; there must be actual consequences for one's ways and actions, not just verbal or written criticisms, rhetorical position statements, in-fighting and purges (unless there's no other way), or merely sitting around talking about an offending individual behind their back. Again, the material reasons behind a moral position must take center stage, the material reasons behind a particular moral argument must be the argument. The reason liberal-based moral arguments against racism are so weak and shallow is because the liberal attempts to cleverly remove the material basis with rhetoric, popular buzz words, and by creating a phony "feel good" atmosphere in whatever particular arena the struggle is taking place in. He/she is only successful amongst the wishful or ignorant.

As Dr. Huey P. Newton put it, "It is the duty of the white radical to aid and assist us in the Black colony." The want or ability for Love and Rage to do this in a real way will determine whether or not they have credibility or relevance as an organization for workers of color, or for anybody for that matter.

So the question of recruiting people of color has less to do with L&R's ability to draw workers of color into Love and Rage (in fact, an intention of mere recruitment is more often than not rooted in opportunism on the part of the recruiter; since no thought is given to the interests of the individual or his/her community; except from a marketing-type perspective: "how can we

fill our ranks with those people? How will they benefit us and our agenda? How do we reach out to them to get them to join?"), with L&R's ability to draw workers of color into revolutionary activity period and/or support them in a particular struggle whether they are "card-carrying" members of Love and Rage or not.

Whether we are in Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation, Black Autonomy International, or out on our own, each one of us is our own liberator, based upon our class, our culture, and most importantly, our personal experiences. It is from this standpoint that we will align ourselves with any particular group, movement, or ideology; no matter who they are or what they claim.

In solidarity,  
Greg Jackson  
Black Autonomy International  
Seattle, Wa.

## HEY, WHAT'S WITH THE CP PHOTO?

Dear Love and Rage,

I agreed generally with the article on multiracial groups in the June/July '97 issue. Yet the photo accompanying the article, of a Communist Party-led group on strike, implies the CP was the first and / or the only group that organized multiracially, ignoring other groups that did so. Back in 1890, in West Virginia, African-American coal miners were among the prime movers in founding United Mine Workers of America. In the 1910s, in Louisiana, the Brotherhood of Timber Workers joined the syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World. The Wobblies immediately insisted on integrated locals. The Socialist-led Southern Tenants Farmers Union organized blacks and whites in the '30s. There are other examples. Why portray only the CP?

Duff McIntosh  
Morgantown, West Virginia

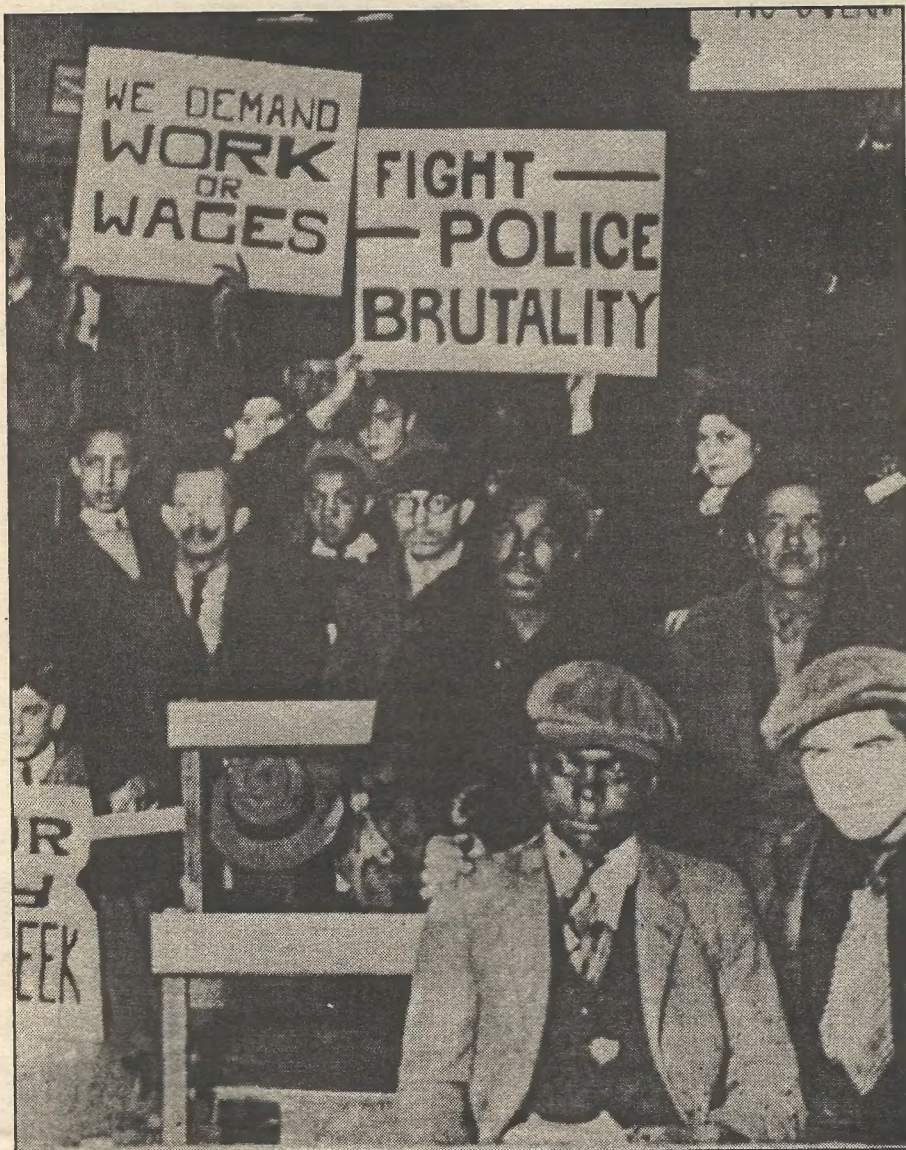
## THE PG RESPONDS

Thanks for the letter; it's a good addition to the editorial. Send us some photos/clippings of the stuff you mention so we never make the same mistake again!

## L&R HAS IT BACKWARDS ON MULTI-RACIAL ORGANIZATION

Your editorial in the June-July issue, "Building a Multi-Racial/Multi-National Revolutionary Anarchist Organization," reveals a thoroughly white outlook, and marks another big step in your descent into traditional white leftism. You write, "a movement that does not involve the full participation of the masses of Black, Latino, Asian and Native peoples can not realize our vision of a truly free society." The participation of black and other people of color in the revolutionary movement has never been in doubt; the question is, will there be any so-called whites in it? Or again, "Only a multi-racial / multi-national organization can hope to develop the collective political perspective necessary to take on the system we are up against." Is that so? SNCC, the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, and the Black Panther Party were black groups. Are you saying that their political shortcomings were due to the absence of white members—their failure to be, in your jargon, "multi-racial/multi-national"?

According to you, the main obstacle to black and other people of color joining L&R is not your politics but your culture, the product of the youth scene you come out of, which you erroneously label as "white" and declare your intention to "smash." You sound like the Marxist-Leninists of the 1960s, in whose path you seem determined to tread, who renounced hippie dress in favor of what they called proletarian garb. Where will this culture cleansing end? What a slander, to suggest that black revolutionaries would be held back from joining a revolutionary group because of its cultural style. Black revolutionaries have shed their blood in solidarity with Palestinians, Vietnamese, and others whose culture is distant from their own. Are Afro-Americans farther culturally from you than they were from the Quaker Abby Kelley, the nonresistant William Lloyd Garrison, or the Prophet John Brown, all of whom they took to their hearts? Should the Indians of Chiapas adopt hip-hop in order to gain black support? No, your problem is not your dress, hair styles, or musical tastes; your problem





is that you have not shown yourselves to be any different underneath the ripped jeans and body piercings from any other group of white leftists that does one or two good things, learns a few words from a book, and then thinks it is in a position to provide leadership to the black struggle.

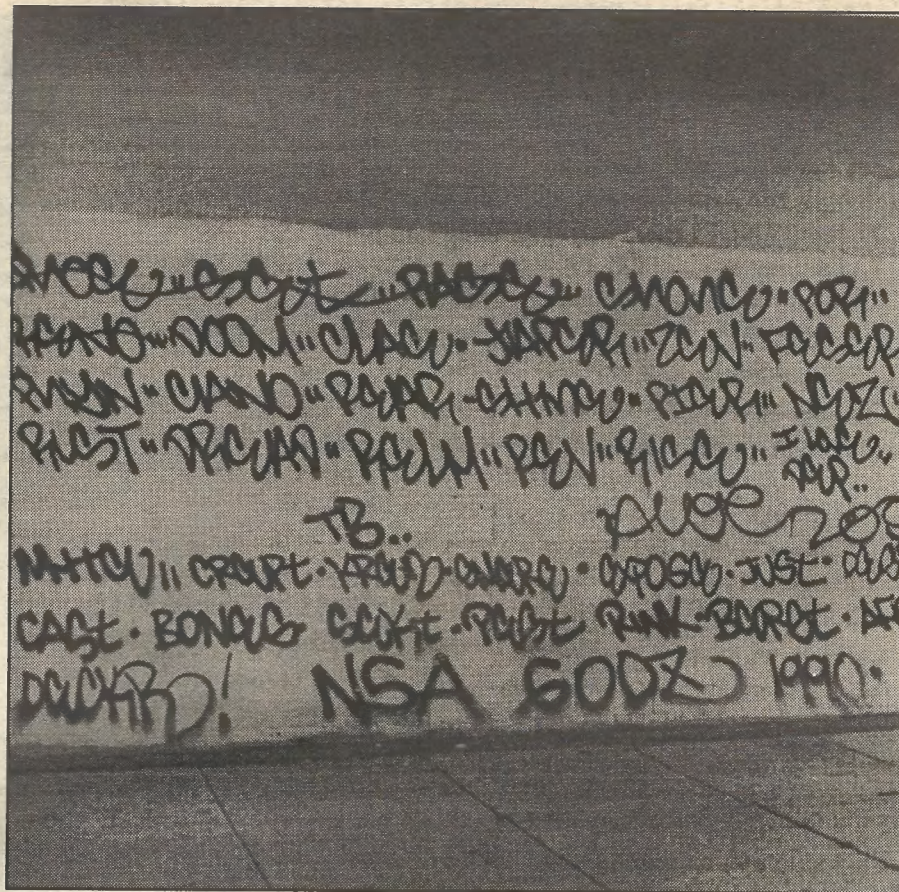
Why this editorial now? Are black folk and others of color clamoring to join L&R against the wishes of present members? Or is it that you have decided that for L&R to grow as an organization you have to darken your ranks a bit, like the paint factory in *Invisible Man*, where a few drops of black tint added to each bucket produces the "Right White?"

You claim that building a "multi-racial / multi-national" organization is part of the fight against white supremacy. You have got it exactly backwards: the precondition for developing an organization that encompasses within its ranks the various colors that make up America is the fight against white supremacy, which begins among whites with a repudiation of the race privileges that tie them to their masters. And the result of that effort will not be a multi-racial but a non-racial organization, in which whites in the process of becoming unwhite join with others in a struggle for a world without class, without gender, and without race. So long as you resist that conclusion, you will remain a white organization, even if you do recruit a few people of color, and you will continue to pander to liberalism, Jewish anxieties, and other special white interests.

Want particulars? See the article about the Human Life International Conference in Minneapolis. HLI is known mainly as an anti-abortion organization, but it is also anti-Semitic and anti-gay. Consequently the coalition formed to oppose it, which included L&R, was able to draw in gay and Jewish groups, most notably the mainline American Jewish Congress. The whole scene resembled the shopping-list demonstrations of the 1970s, in which each interest group was attracted by a different demand. In this case the AJC was brought in not by HLI's anti-abortionism but by its anti-Semitism. The AJC's presence was enough to force the Archbishop to dissociate himself from HLI, but it also shifted public attention from abortion rights to anti-Semitism. In effect, then, instead of reaching out to Catholics and Jews in defense of reproductive freedom, the coalition "reached out" to anarchists and other radicals on behalf of Zionists. Of course the Archbishop, in a move which should have surprised no one, "unfortunately publicly affirmed his own pro-life position." And this farcical tale the article presents not as a warning against trading principle for popularity but as a model of success!

In the same issue you report a police raid on a white power music center. You say that between the government and the white supremacists, you support neither side, and you call upon revolutionaries to carry out their own campaign against the white supremacists. Very well. And how do you propose to carry out that campaign? On the same page you have a story of how Buffalo ARA stopped a white power concert by finding out where it was to be held and releasing the information to the media, pressuring the club owner to cancel the show. Did the ARA group confront the show directly? No. Did they explain to the club owner that he should cancel the show because the rock group was anti-working class and counter-revolutionary? We doubt it. They said the band were "Nazis" who would provoke "violence." And this episode is presented as another victory. Bear it in mind when you find yourselves unable to rent public space—unless that never happens because you have become so innocuous to the state that no one objects to your presence.

L&R may claim in its defense that Minneapolis and Buffalo are examples of its work in coalitions, where it does not control the terms. What about when it is on its own? The issue carries a long article by Christopher Day analyzing the movement at the City University of New York, where L&R has put a lot of effort and which may be regarded as a test of its politics. Day provides a history of CUNY's evolution as a public university and the role of low tuition and open admissions in producing a largely non-white student body. Now the state legislature is seeking to hike costs and end grants to poor students, and a movement has developed in opposition. Day stresses the need to recognize the different impact of the tuition hikes on white students and students of color, and criticizes various left groups who dodge the issue. He even says that white students "need to acknowledge the way that white privilege operates within



CUNY and the larger society and commit themselves to fighting it even when it goes against their own immediate interests." Nice words, but what do they mean in practice? Although it is true that tuition hikes will have a greater impact on students of color than on white students, that is not the main means by which CUNY reproduces white privilege. The main means is the routine functioning of the university, whereby black and other students of color are concentrated in remedial courses and the community colleges, with few ever graduating. While an increase in the cost of education is an inconvenience for all students, the students who manage to pay it and graduate at least get something back for their money, whereas those who leave without graduating are totally robbed. In his long article Day says not a word about the race gap, limiting himself instead to talk about tuition hikes, which even CUNY officials oppose, on much the same grounds he does. And although he mentions the segregation of the CUNY system, he addresses it only as an obstacle, along with "white left political culture," to attracting black and other students of color to the anti-hike coalition. Once again there is no political problem, only a culture problem. So much for acknowledging how white privilege operates. We could cite other examples of your willingness to accommodate liberalism. Instead of making a push to recruit black members, or any others, you should concentrate on shaping up politically, and maybe black revolutionaries will want to associate with you.

Noel Ignatiev & Adam Sabra  
RACE TRAITOR  
PO Box 603  
Cambridge, MA 02140-0005

## SOME L&R MEMBERS RESPOND

First, let's get a few of the facts straightened out. One, the Fight the Right Coalition that Love and Rage participated in to fight HLI did not include the American Jewish Committee (AJC). Rather the coalition exposed the anti-Semitism of HLI and the AJC picked up that ball and ran with it and pressured the Archbishop to distance himself from HLI. We have no problem denouncing the AJC's wretched Zionism but we also see nothing wrong in attacking HLI's anti-Semitism and do not regard doing so as pandering to "Jewish anxieties." Of course there is always the danger in such situations that one issue will overshadow another, but the militant action organized by the Fight the Right Coalition hardly ignored the question of reproductive freedom and your suggestion to the contrary has no foundation.

Two, while Love and Rage was not significantly involved in organizing the successful effort to run Resistance Records out of Buffalo, we see no problem with exposing the location of a white power concert to the media. We don't know if the club owner canceled the show out of a fear of violence, a revulsion with Nazism, or out of profound feelings of revolutionary proletarian internationalism. Your idle speculation on the question has added nothing to our knowledge in this area. But we do think people who do business with Nazis should be exposed to the light of day. It's not always

possible to mobilize the numbers of people willing to do battle with the Nazis that it would take to shut down by direct confrontation a major white power show like the one planned for Buffalo. And if a club owner cancels a show to avoid being publicly associated with Nazi violence rather than from some deeper revolutionary working-class consciousness, we are still not ashamed to call it a victory. We have taken enough bumps, bruises and busts ourselves to respect the need to make such tactical assessments. Without an actual investigation of the situation in Buffalo the implication that anything less than a full-on street battle would be a capitulation to pacifism is just Monday-morning quarterbacking.

Three, the work of Love and Rage members at CUNY all takes place within coalitions. But while we have occasional differences with decisions that are made by any coalition we participate in, we aren't embarrassed to be doing the work of building broad, participatory and democratic social movements. We think that such work does more to prepare for making revolution in this society than developing a perfect body of revolutionary theory that never actually gets put into practice. The emphasis in the article and in our work on the budget cuts and tuition hikes is the product of our participation in the struggle: those are the issues that have the most immediate impact on the lives of the largest number of students, including students of color concentrated in remedial classes and community colleges.

Contrary to your opinion, the opposition of high CUNY officials to tuition increases is for public consumption only. In practice they have shown they are committed to an effective end to open admissions. The tuition hikes and cuts in financial aid have been the most effective tool so far in implementing this agenda by pushing poor, Black and Latino students out of CUNY by the thousands. What you say about the concentration of students of color in remedial courses and the community colleges is true. But what you apparently don't see is that those students are fighting desperately to maintain access to the community colleges and remedial courses which are under relentless attack. A good example of this is the struggle that recently started at Hostos (see article this issue).

Yes those who leave CUNY without graduating are robbed, but so are those who are never able to enter because they can't afford the cost of tuition and books. We have never suggested that the tuition hikes are the only issue around which it is important to organize and have consistently sought to expose the segregation and unequal allocation of resources that exists within CUNY. From our participation in defense of the admittedly imperfect SEEK program (which provides assistance to poor and academically unprepared students) in 1994 (see *Love and Rage* Vol. 6, No. 2) to the recent events at Hostos, we have not shied from this struggle. Again, your armchair observations are uninformed.

Your attacks on our work are meant to illustrate our supposed descent into white leftism represented by our editorial upholding the need for multi-racial and multi-national organization. While predictably packed with clever phrases, your reading of our editorial is as sloppy as the rest of your

letter. Oppressed people in the US come in all colors and people of all colors will need to be organized if this hateful system is to be overthrown. And there will need to be multi-racial revolutionary organizations if the myriad struggles against this system are to be effectively coordinated.

SNCC, the LRBW and the Black Panther Party all made great contributions to revolutionary theory and practice in the US, but none of those organizations could have hoped to overthrow this system by itself while retaining a racially exclusive basis for membership. This does not mean we oppose the creation of all-Black (or all-Chicano or all-Chinese) organizations. On the contrary, our editorial explicitly upholds the "right and necessity for oppressed peoples to form their own organizations." But we also see the necessity for building multi-racial/multi-national organizations.

Your attempt to distinguish our vision of a multi-racial organization from your vision of a non-racial one is just word play. Whiteness is not just a social construction, it is a social relationship. It cannot be willed to disappear by the individual existential repudiation of race privileges, but will have to be collectively smashed by people, of all colors, who are all still nonetheless the products of that social relationship. And those people will bring larger and smaller collections of racial baggage accumulated over the course of their lives with them into their efforts to build revolutionary organizations. Such organizations will be multi-racial for a long time before they become non-racial, not because we aren't committed to a non-racial organization or a non-racial world, but because we still live in this one. And so do you.

We know full well that seriously fighting white supremacy is a precondition for building multi-racial organizations. But we also know that multi-racial organizations are needed to deepen that struggle and that they won't just spring spontaneously from our taking exemplary actions against the white power structure. They will have to be consciously fought for. Like our ongoing work fighting white supremacy, our editorial is part of our fight for the creation of such organizations. It comes now because our work in a variety of areas has forced us to confront the limitations that derive from our current composition.

In typically hyperbolic fashion you take our self-critical comments on the role of white counter-culture in our own organization as a slander on Black revolutionaries. But cultural style is important. In a white supremacist society it is often a way to mark off who is welcome and who is not within a particular social space. You say that our characterization of the punk and alternative music scenes in the US as overwhelmingly white is "erroneous." But to deny this obvious fact is to ignore how white racial solidarity is often reinforced by cultural affiliations, including oppositional ones. When we talk about "smashing this culture of whiteness" we don't mean forcing anybody to change the music they listen to or the clothes they wear. But we do mean making ourselves conscious of how those decisions are often shaped by white supremacy and how they can reinforce it.

You compare us to the Marxist-Leninists of the 1960s on this point but a far more objectionable quality on the part of those groups than their crude sartorial policies was their more general sectarian arrogance—a quality that distressingly permeates your letter. "If you're so smart how come your not rich" is a popular barstool retort to the self-appointed geniuses that populate many saloons. We would all do well to ask ourselves a similar question: "If we're so smart why is our movement so weak?" The revolutionary movement in the US is puny. This is true of all tendencies. If the true path forward were as obvious as you seem to believe why has it proven so difficult to build a significant revolutionary organization in this country? We would suggest that in the current period a more humble and comradely spirit is in order. We don't think we have all the answers, and we welcome criticisms of the ones we think we do have, but we also think that the manner in which they are advanced is important. Most of the difficult questions that confront us will ultimately be answered as much by practice as by polemic. The struggle to build a multi-racial/multi-national organization will undoubtedly confront us with many challenges that will compel us to rethink aspects of our perspective. In the meantime take a chill pill and save your venom for your real enemies.

Matt Capri, Carolyn Connelly, Christopher Day, Jessica Klonsky, Brad S. Laura Schere, Suzy Subways, Roy San Filippo